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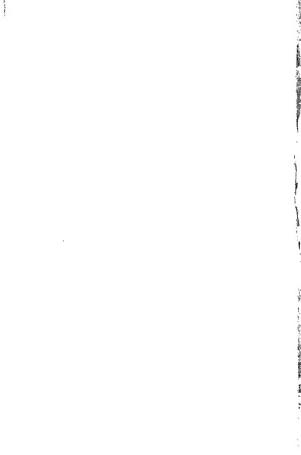
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## PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

 $\mathbf{X}$ 



IN FOURTEEN VOLUMES
VOLUME X

771E-854D

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY HAROLD NORTH FOWLER

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#### PREFACE

educated Ruler with critical commentary and notes, and The Manuscript-Tradition (also reprinted as The Text-Tradition) of Pseudo-Plutarch's Vitae Decema Oratorum, by Clarence George Lowe, published in University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, ix. No. 4, 1924.

H. N. F.

Washington, D.C. June, 1936.

### CONTENTS OF VOLUME X

		PAGE
THE TRADITIONAL ORDER OF THE BOOKS	OF	
THE MORALIA		ix
LOVE STORIES-		
Introduction		3
Text and Translation		4
THAT A PHILOSOPHER OUGHT TO CONVI	ERSE	
ESPECIALLY WITH MEN IN POWER-		
Introduction		27
Text and Translation		28
To an Uneducated Ruler-		
Introduction		51
Text and Translation		52
Whether an Old Man should engage Public Affairs—	IN I	
Introduction		75
Text and Translation		76
PRECEPTS OF STATECRAFT-		
Introduction		156
Text and Translation		158
		wii

#### CONTENTS OF VOLUME X

				PAG
On Monarchy, Democracy, and	OLIG	ARCHY		
Introduction				308
Text and Translation .				304
THAT WE OUGHT NOT TO BORROW	7			
Introduction				315
Text and Translation .				316
LIVES OF THE TEN ORATORS-				
Introduction				342
Text and Translation				344
Summary of a Comparison better phanes and Menander—	WEEN	ARIST	0-	
Introduction				461
Text and Translation				462
INDEX				475

#### THE TRADITIONAL ORDER of the Books of the Moralia as they appear in practically all editions since that of Xylander (1570), and their division into volumes in this edition.

	D 19 1 1 1 1 (T ) (D )	PAGE
1.	De liberis educandis (Περί παίδων ἀγωγής). Quomodo adolescens poetas audire debeat	1.
	(Πως δεί τον νέον ποιημάτων άκούειν)	17D
	De recta ratione audiendi (Περί τοῦ ἀκούειν) ,	37B
	Quomodo adulator ab amico internoscatur	
	(Πῶς ἄν τις διακρίνειε τὸν κόλακα τοῦ φίλου) .	48E
	Quomodo quis suos in virtute sentiat profectus	
	(Πως αν τις αισθοιτο έαυτου προκόπτοντος έπ'	
	άρετή)	75A
II.	De capienda ex inimicis utilitate (IIGs av Tis	
	ύπ' έχθρῶν ἀφελοῖτο)	86в
	De amicorum multitudine (Περί πολυφιλίας)	934
	De fortuna (Περί τύχης)	97c
	De virtute et vitio (Περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας)	100в
	Consolatio ad Apollonium (Παραμυθητικός πρός	1008
	'Απολλώνιον)	101r
	De tuenda sanitate praecepta ('Τγιεινά παρ-	TOTE
	αγγέλματα)	122B
	Coniugalia praecepta (Γαμικά παραγγέλματα)	122B
	Septem sapientium convivium (Τῶν ἐπτὰ σοφῶν	1997
	συμπόσιον).	140-
		146в
TTT	De superstitione (Περί δεισιδαιμονίας)	164E
111.	Regum et imperatorum apophthegmata ('Aπο-	1 20
		172a
	ν	
	νικά).	208A
	Instituta Laconica (Τὰ παλαιὰ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων	
	έπιτηδεύματα)	236F
		:

#### THE TRADITIONAL ORDER

		PAGE
	Lacaenarum apophthegmata (Λακαινῶν ἀπο-	040
	φθέγματα)	2400
	Mulierum virtutes (Γυναικών άρεταί)	242E
IV.	Quaestiones Romanae (ΑΙτια Ρωμαϊκά)	263D
	Quaestiones Graecae (Αίτια Ἑλληνικά)	291 n
	Parallela Graeca et Romana (Συναγωγή Ιστοριών	
	παραλλήλων Ελληνικών και 'Ρωμαϊκών)	305л
	De fortuna Romanorum (Περί τῆς Ρωμαίων	
	τύχης)	316в
	De Alexandri magni fortuna aut virtute, libri	~~~
	ii (Περί της 'Αλεξάνδρου τύχης ή άρετης, λόγοι β')	326 D
	Bellone an pace clariores fuerint Athenienses	
	(Πότερον 'Αθηναΐοι κατά πόλεμον ή κατά σοφίαν	
	ένδοξότεροι)	345c
٧.	De Iside et Osiride (Hepl 'Ioidos kal 'Oolpidos)	351c
	De E apud Delphos (Περί τοῦ ΕΙ τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς)	384c
	De Pythiae oraculis (Περὶ τοῦ μη χρᾶν ξιμιετρα	
	νῦν την Πυθίαν)	394 D
	De defectu oraculorum (Περί τῶν ἐκλελοιπότων	
***	χρηστηρίων)	409E
٧1,	An virtus doceri possit (Εἰ διδακτὸν ἡ ἀρετή) .	439A
	De virtute morali (Περί τῆς ἡθικῆς ἀρετῆς)	440n
	De cohibenda ira (Περὶ ἀοργησίας)	452E
	De tranquillitate animi (Περί εὐθυμίας)	464E
	De fraterno amore (Περί φιλαδελφίας)	478A
	De amore prolis (Περὶ τῆς εἰς τὰ ἔκγονα φιλο-	
	στοργίας)	493a
	An vitiositas ad infelicitatem sufficiat (El	100
	αυτάρκης ή κακία πρός κακοδαιμονίαν)	498a
	Animine an corporis affectiones sint peiores (Πότερον τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς ἢ τὰ τοῦ σώματος πάθη	
	χείρονα)	500в
	Da committata (II cal Ala) contal	
		502B
VII	De cupiquate divitation (teep pinopnoutlas) .	515в 523с
4 77.	De vitioso pudore (Περί δυσωπίας)	528c
	De invidia et odio (Περί φθόνου καί μίσους)	536E
	De se ipsum citra invidiam laudando (Hepl 700	330E
	έαυτον έπαινείν άνεπιφθόνως).	539 A
	De sera numinis vindicta (Περὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ θείου	JJOA
	βραδέως τιμωρουμένων)	548A
	De fato (Περι εἰμαρμένης)	568R

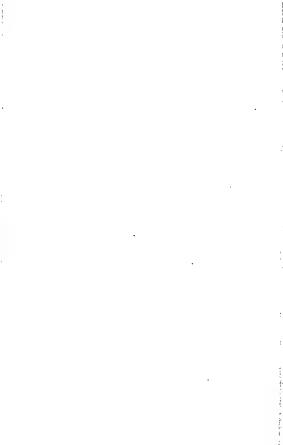
#### THE TRADITIONAL ORDER

De marte Committee/III 1 0 D 1 1 D 1 1	PAGR
De genio Socratis (Περὶ τοῦ Σωκράτους δαιμονίου)	575A
De exilio (Περί φυγής)	599a
Consolatio ad uxorem (Παραμυθητικός εls την	
γυναϊκα την έαυτοθ)	608A
VIII. Quaestionum convivialium libri ix (Συμποσια-	
κῶν προβλημάτων βιβλία θ') .	612c
I, 612c; II, 629B; III, 641E; IV, 659E; V, 672D; VI, 686A	
672D; VI, 686A	
IX. VII, 697c; VIII, 716p; IX, 736c	
Amatorius (Έρωτικός)	748E
X. Amatoriae narrationes ('Ερωτικαί διηγήσεις) .	771E
Maxime cum principibus philosopho esse dis-	
serendum (Περί τοῦ ότι μάλιστα τοῖς ἡγεμόσι δεῖ	
τὸν φιλόσοφον διαλέγεσθαι)	776A
Ad principem ineruditum (Πρὸς ἡγεμόνα	
άπαίδευτον)	779c
An seni respublica gerenda sit (Εἰ πρεσβυτέρω	
πολιτευτέον)	783A
Praecepta gerendae reipublicae (Πολιτικά	
παραγγέλματα)	798A
De unius in republica dominatione, populari	
statu, et paucorum imperio (Περί μοναρχίας	
_ καὶ δημοκρατίας καὶ όλιγαρχίας)	826A
De vitando aere alieno (Περὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν δανεί-	COUN
(εσθαι)	827 D
Vitae decem oratorum (Περί των δέκα ρητόρων)	832B
Comparationis Aristophanis et Menandri com-	0022
pendium (Συγκρίσεως 'Αριστοφάνους και Μεν-	
άνδρου έπιτομή)	853A
XI. De Herodoti malignitate (Περὶ τῆς Ἡροδότου	OUUN
κακοηθείας)	854E
De placitis philosophorum, libri ν (Περί τῶν	COTE
άρεσκόντων τοῖς φιλοσύφοις, βιβλία ε')	874p
Quaestiones naturales (Αἴτια φυσικά)	911c
XII. De facie quae in orbe lunae apparet (Περί τοῦ	0110
έμφαινομένου προσώπου τῷ κύκλῷ τῆς σελήνης).	920A
De primo frigido (Περί τοῦ πρώτου ψύχους)	945E
Aquane an ignis sit utilior (Περί τοῦ πότερον	OTOE
ύδωρ ή πύρ χρησιμώτερον)	955n
Terrestriane au aquatilia animalia sint callidiora	200H
(Πότερα των ζώων φρονιμώτερα τὰ χερσαῖα ἡ τὰ	
ένυδρα)	959A
	vi.

#### THE TRADITIONAL ORDER

	PAGE
Bruta animalia ratione uti, sive Gryllus (Hepl	
τοῦ τὰ άλογα λόγφ χρῆσθαι) .	985n
De esu carnium orationes ii (Περὶ σαρκοφαγίας	
λόγοι β')	993a
XIII. Platonicae quaestiones (Πλατωνικά ζητήματα) .	999c
De animac procreatione in Timaeo (Περὶ τῆς ἐν	0000
Τιμαίφ ψυχογονίαs)	1012a
Γιμαιφ ψυχογονίας)	1012A
Compendium libri de animae procreatione in	
Timaco (Επιτομή τοῦ περί τῆς ἐν τῷ Τιμαίφ	*
ψυχογονίας)	1030p
De Stoicorum repugnantiis (Περί Στωικών έναν-	
τιωμάτων)	1033a
Compendium argumenti Stoicos absurdiora	
poetis dicere (Σύνοψις τοῦ ὅτι παραδοξότερα οἰ	
Στωικοί των ποιητών λέγουσι)	1057c
De communibus notitiis adversus Stoicos (Repl	
τῶν κοινῶν ἐννοιῶν πρὸς τοὺς Στωικούς)	1058E
XIV. Non posse suaviter vivi secundum Epicurum	
("Ότι οὐδ' ἡδέως ζην ἔστι κατ' Ἐπίκουρον).	1086c
Adversus Colotem (Πρός Κολιότην)	1107p
An recte dictum sit latenter esse vivendum (el	110111
	1128A
καλώς εξρηται το λάθε βιώσας)	
De musica (Περί μουσικής)	1181 a
Fragmenta.	

# LOVE STORIES (AMATORIAE NARRATIONES)



#### INTRODUCTION

These five short stories are interesting to the modern reader chiefly as examples of the kind of tale which appealed to the readers of Plutarch's time; for they were probably written during his lifetime, though not by him. In style and content they differ greatly from his genuine works. The elements of passion and of sentimental love are made to appear important in them rather on account of their dire consequences than for their own sake.

#### ΕΡΩΤΙΚΑΙ ΔΙΗΓΉΣΕΙΣ

#### Α

(771) Έν Αλιάρτω τῆς Βοιωτίας κόρη τις γίνεται κάλλει διαπρέπουσα ὄνομα 'Αριστόκλεια θυγάτηρ δ' ήν Θεοφάνους. ταύτην μνώνται Στράτων 'Ορχο-F μένιος και Καλλισθένης 'Αλιάρτιος.' πλουσιώτερος δ' ήν Στράτων και μαλλόν τι της παρθένου ήττημένος ετύγχανε γὰρ ιδών αὐτὴν εν Λεβαδεία λουομένην ἐπὶ τῆ κρήνη τῆ Ἑρκύνη· ἔμελλε γὰρ τῷ 772 Διὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ κανηφορεῖν. ἀλλ' ὁ Καλλισθένης γε πλέον εφέρετο ήν γαο και γένει προσήκων τῆ κόρη. ἀπορῶν δὲ τῷ πράγματι ὁ Θεοφάνης, έδεδίει γὰρ τὸν Στράτωνα πλούτω τε καὶ γένει σχεδον απάντων διαφέροντα των Βοιωτών, την αίρεσιν εβούλετο τῷ Τροφωνίω επιτρέψαι και δ Στράτων, ανεπέπειστο γαρ ύπο των της παρθένου οίκετων, ώς πρός αὐτὸν μαλλον ἐκείνη ῥέποι, ήξίου ἐπ' αὐτῆ ποιεῖσθαι τῆ γαμουμένη τὴν έκλογήν. ώς δὲ τῆς παιδός ὁ Θεοφάνης ἐπυνθάνετο έν όψει πάντων, ή δε τον Καλλισθένην προύκρινεν, Β εὐθὺς μὲν ὁ Στράτων δηλος ἡν βαρέως φέρων την

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> 'Αλιάρτιος Wyttenbach: ἀλιάρτω.

#### LOVE STORIES

I

AT Haliartus, in Boeotia, there was a girl of remarkable beauty, named Aristocleia, the daughter of Theophanes. She was wooed by Strato of Orchomenus and Callisthenes of Haliartus. Strato was the richer and was rather the more violently in love with the maiden; for he had seen her in Lebadeia bathing at the fountain called Hercynê in preparation for carrying a basket a in a sacred procession in honour of Zeus the King. But Callisthenes had the advantage, for he was a blood-relation of the girl. Theophanes was much perplexed about the matter, for he was afraid of Strato, who excelled nearly all the Boeotians in wealth and in family connexions, and he wished to submit the choice to Trophonius b; but Strato had been persuaded by the maiden's servants that she was more inclined towards him, so he asked that the choice be left to the bride-to-be herself. But when Theophanes in the presence of everyone asked the maiden, and she chose Callisthenes, it was plain at once that Strato found the

A hero whose oracular shrine was at Lebadeia.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Processions were common in Greek worship, and often young women, chosen usually for their good birth and their beauty, formed part of them, carrying baskets in which were offerings or utensils for use in sacrifices.

(772) ἀτιμίαν· ἡμέρας δὲ διαλιπών δύο προσῆλθε τῷ Θεοφάνει καὶ τῷ Καλλισθένει, ἀξιῶν τὴν φιλίαν αὐτῷ πρὸς αὐτοὺς διαφυλάττεσθαι, εἰ καὶ τοῦ γάμου εφθονήθη ύπο δαιμονίου τινός. οι δ' επήνουν τὰ λεγόμενα, ώστε καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν έστίασιν τῶν γάμων παρεκάλουν αὐτόν. δ δε παρεσκευασμένος εταίρων όχλον, καὶ πληθος οὐκ ὀλίγον θεραπόντων, διεσπαρμένους παρά τούτοις καὶ λανθάνοντας, εως ή κόρη κατά τὰ πάτρια ἐπὶ τὴν Κισσόεσσαν καλουμένην κρήνην κατήει ταις Νύμφαις τὰ προτέλεια C θύσουσα, τότε δη συνδραμόντες πάντες οἱ λοχώντες έκείνω συνελάμβανον αὐτήν. καὶ ὁ Στράτων γ' είχετο της παρθένου αντελαμβάνετο δ' ώς εἰκὸς ό Καλλισθένης έν μέρει καὶ οἱ σύν αὐτῷ, ἔως ἔλαθεν ή παις εν χεροί των ανθελκόντων διαφθαρείσα. δ Καλλισθένης μέν οὖν παραχρήμα ἀφανής ἐγένετο, είτε διαχρησάμενος έαυτον είτε φυγάς ἀπελθών έκ τῆς Βοιωτίας· οὐκ εἶχε δ' οὖν τις εἰπεῖν ὅ τι καὶ πεπόνθοι. ὁ δὲ Στράτων φανερῶς ἐπικατέσφαξεν έαυτον τη παρθένω.

#### В

D Φείδων τις τῶν Πελοποννησίων ἐπιτιθέμενος ἀρχῆ, τὴν ᾿Αργείων πόλω, τὴν πατρίδα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ, ἡγεμονεύειν τῶν λοιπῶν βουλόμενος, πρῶπον ἐπρῶτουε Κορινθίοις· πέμψας γὰρ ἤτει παρ᾽ αὐτῶν νεανίας χιλίους τοὺς ἀκμῆ διαφέροντας καὶ ἀνδρεία· οἱ δὲ πέμπουσι τοὺς χιλίους, στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν

<sup>1</sup> δ δέ] Wyttenbach would add ηκε.

#### LOVE STORIES, 772

slight hard to bear. But he let two days go by and came to Theophanes and Callisthenes asking that the friendship between him and them be preserved, even though he had been deprived of the marriage by some jealous divinity. And they approved of what he said, so that they even invited him to the wedding-feast. But before he came he got ready a crowd of his friends and a considerable number of servants, who were scattered among the others present and were not noticed: but when the girl went, according to the ancestral custom, to the spring called Cissoessa to make the preliminary sacrifice to the nymphs, then his men who were in ambush all rushed out at once and seized her. Strato also had hold of the maiden; and naturally Callisthenes and his supporters in turn took hold of her and held on until, although they did not know it at the time, she died in their hands as they pulled against each other. Callisthenes immediately disappeared, whether by committing suicide or by going away as an exile from Boeotia; at any rate nobody could tell what had happened to him. But Strato slew himself in sight of all upon the body of the maiden.

#### II

A man named Pheidon, who was striving to make himself ruler of the Peloponnesians and wished his own native city of Argos to be the leader of all the other states, plotted first against the Corinthians. He sent and asked of them the thousand young men who were the best in vigour and valour; and they sent the thousand, putting Dexander in

αποδείξαντες Δέξανδρον. Εν νώ δ' έχων ό Φείδων επιθέσθαι τούτοις, ιν' έχοι Κόρινθον ατονωτέραν καὶ τῆ πόλει χρήσαιτο, προτείχισμα γὰρ τοῦτο επικαιρότατον έσεσθαι της όλης Πελοποννήσου. Ε την πραξιν ανέθετο των έταιρων τισίν. ην δέ καί "Αβρων εν αὐτοῖς οὖτος δε ξένος ὢν τοῦ Δεξάνδρου έφρασεν αὐτῷ τὴν ἐπιβουλήν. καὶ οὕτως οἱ μὲν γίλιοι πρό της επιθέσεως είς την Κόρινθον εσώθησαν, Φείδων δ' άνευρεῖν ἐπειρᾶτο τὸν προδόντα καὶ έπιμελως εζήτει. δείσας δ' δ "Αβρων φεύνει είς Κόρινθον, αναλαβών την γυναίκα και τούς οἰκέτας, έν Μελίσσω, κώμη τινί τῆς Κορινθίων χώρας· ένθα καὶ παίδα γεννήσας Μέλισσον προσηγόρευσεν, ἀπὸ τοῦ τόπου θέμενος τοὔνομα αὐτῶ. τούτου δὴ τοῦ Μελίσσου υίος 'Ακταίων γίνεται, κάλλιστος καλ σωφρονέστατος των δμηλίκων, οδ πλείστοι μέν έγένοντο έρασταί, διαφερόντως δ' 'Αρχίας, γένους μέν ων του των 'Ηρακλειδων, πλούτω δέ και τη F άλλη δυνάμει λαμπρότατος Κορινθίων. ἐπεὶ δὲ πείθειν οὐκ ἠδύνατο τὸν παῖδα, ἔγνω βιάσασθαι και συναρπάσαι<sup>2</sup> το μειράκιον ἐπεκώμασεν οῦν<sup>3</sup> έπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ Μελίσσου, πλήθος ἐπανόμενος καὶ φίλων καὶ οἰκετών, καὶ ἀπάγειν τὸν παίδα έπειράτο. ἀντιποιουμένου δὲ τοῦ πατρός καὶ τῶν φίλων, ἐπεκδραμόντων δὲ καὶ τῶν γειτόνων καὶ 773 ἀνθελκόντων, ἀνθελκόμενος ὁ "Ακταίων διεφθάρη" και οί μεν ούτως άπεχώρουν. Μέλισσος δε τον νεκρόν τοῦ παιδός εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν τῶν Κορινθίων παρακομίσας ἐπεδείκνυε, δίκην ἀπαιτών παρά τών ταθτα πραξάντων οί δὲ πλέον οὐδὲν η τὸν ἄνδρα

<sup>1</sup> χίλιοι Meziriacus after Amyot: Φλιάσιοι. 2 συναρπάσαι Leonicus: συναρπάσας.

#### LOVE STORIES, 772-773

command of them. Now Pheidon intended to make an onslaught upon these young men, that Corinth might be weakened and he might have the city in his power, for he considered that it would be the most advantageous bulwark of the whole Peloponnesus, and he confided this matter to some of his was Habron. Now he was a told him of the plot, so before the onslaught was made the thousand young men escaped safely to Corinth; but Pheidon tried to discover the betrayer of his plot and searched for him with great care. So Habr fled to Corinth with his wife in Melissus, a village in Corinthian territory. There he begot a son whom he called Melissus from the name of the place. This Melissus had a son named Actaeon, the handsomest and most modest youth of his age, who had many lovers, chief of whom was Archias, of the family of the Heracleidae, in wealth and general influence the most outstanding man in Corinth. Now when he could not gain the boy by persuasion, he determined to carry him off by force. So he got together a crowd of friends and servants, went as in a drunken frolic to the house of Melissus, and tried to take the boy away. But his father and his friends resisted, the neighbours also ran out and pulled against the assailants, and so Actaeon was pulled to pieces and killed; the assailants thereupon went away. But Melissus took his son's body and exhibited it in the market-place of the Corinthians, demanding the punishment of the men who had done the deed; but the Corinthians merely pitied him and did nothing further. So, being unsuccess-

<sup>\*</sup> οὖν added by Xylander.

(773) ηλέουν. ἄπρακτος δ' ἀναχωρήσας παρεφύλασσε τὴν πανήγυρν τῶν Ἰσθμίων, ἀναβάς τ' ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος νεὼν κατεβός πῶν Βακχιαδῶν καὶ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς "Αβρωνος εὐεργεσίαν ὑπεμίμνησκε, τούς τε θεοὺς ἐπικαλεσάμενος ρίπτει ἐαυτόν κατὰ τῶν πετρῶν. μετ' οὐ πολὺ δ' αὐχμὸς καὶ λοιμὸς Β κατελάμβανε τὴν πόλιν καὶ τῶν Κορινθίων περὶ ἀπαλλαγῆς χρωμένων, ὁ θεὸς ἀνείλε μῆνιν εἶναι Ποσειδῶνος οὐκ ἀνήσοντος, ἔως ὰν τὸν ᾿Ακταίωνος θάνατον μετέλθοιεν. ταῦτα πυθόμενος ᾿Αρχίας, αὐτός γὰρ θεωρὸς ἡν, εἰς μὲν τὴν Κόρινθον ἐκὰν οὐκ ἐπανῆλθε, πλεύσας δ' εἰς τὴν Σικελίαν Συρακούσας ἔκτισε. πατὴρ δὲ γενόμενος ἐνταῦθα θυγατέρων δυεῖν, ᾿Ορτυγίας τε καὶ Συρακούσης, ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἱηλέφου δολοφονείται, ὅς ἐγεγόνει μὲν αὐτοῦ παιδικά, νεὼς δ' ἀφηγούμενος συνέπλευσεν εἰς Σικελίαν,

#### г

'Ανὴρ πένης Σκέδασος τοὔνομα κατώκει Λεῦκτρα· ἔστι δὲ κώμων τῆς τῶν Θεσπιέων χώρας. C τούτω θυγατέρες γίνονται δύο· ἐκαλοῦντο δ' Ἱππω καὶ Μιλητία, ἤ, ὤς τωνες, Θεανώ καὶ Εὐξίππη, ἦν δὲ χρηστὸς ὁ Σκέδασος καὶ τοῖς ξένοις ἐπιτήδειος, καίπερ οὐ πολλὰ κεκτημένος. ἀφικομένους οὖν πρὸς αὐτὸν δύο Σπαρτιάτας νεανίας ὑπεδέξατο προθύμως· οἱ δὲ τῶν παρθένων ἤττώμενο διεκωλύοντο πρὸς τὴν τόλμαν ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> The famous Isthmian games in honour of Poseidon, for victors in which Pindar composed some of his odes.

#### LOVE STORIES, 773

ful, he went away and waited for the Isthmian festival, when he went up upon the temple of Poseidon, shouted accusations against the Bacchiadae, b and reminded the people of his father Habron's benefactions, whereupon, calling upon the gods to avenge him, he threw himself down from the rocks. Not long afterwards the city was afflicted by drought and pestilence, and when the Corinthians consulted the oracle concerning relief, the god replied that the wrath of Poseidon would not relax until they inflicted punishment for the death of Actaeon. Archias knew of this, for he was himself one of those sent to consult the oracle, and voluntarily refrained from returning to Corinth. Instead he sailed to Sicily and founded Syracuse. There he became the father of two daughters, Ortygia and Syracusa, and was treacherously murdered by Telephus, who had been his beloved and had sailed with him to Sicily in command of a ship.

#### III

There was a poor man named Scedasus who lived at Leuctra; that is a village of the country of the Thespians. This man had two daughters, called Hippo and Miletia, or, as some say, Theano and Euxippê. Now Scedasus was a worthy man and friendly to strangers, though he was not very well off. So when two Spartan youths came to his house he received them gladly. They fell in love with the maidens, but were restrained from overboldness by

b The noble family which ruled Corinth in the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. Periander is its most famous member.

(773) Σκεδάσου χρηστότητος. τῆ δ' ὑστεραία Πυθώδε απήεσαν· αθτη γὰρ αὐτοῖς προύκειτο ἡ δδός· καὶ τῷ θεῷ χρησάμενοι περὶ ὧν ἐδέοντο, πάλιν ἐπανήεσαν οίκαδε, καὶ χωροῦντες διὰ τῆς Βοιωτίας D ἐπέστησαν πάλιν τῆ τοῦ Σκεδάσου οἰκία, ὁ δ' έτύγχανεν οὐκ ἐπιδημῶν τοῖς Λεύκτροις, ἀλλ' αί θυγατέρες αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τῆς συνήθους ἀγωγῆς τοὺς ξένους ύπεδέξαντο. οι δε καταλαβόντες ερήμους τάς κόρας βιάζονται ορώντες δ' αὐτάς καθ' ὑπερβολήν τη ύβρει χαλεπαινούσας απέκτειναν, καὶ έμβαλόντες ές τι φρέαρ απηλλάγησαν. ἐπανελθών δ' δ Σκέδασος τὰς μὲν κόρας οὐχ ἐώρα, πάντα δὲ τὰ καταλειφθέντα ευρίσκει σῷα καὶ τῷ πράγματι ηπόρει, έως της κυνός κνυζωμένης και πολλάκις μέν προστρεχούσης πρός αὐτόν ἀπό δ' αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ φρέαρ ἐπανιούσης, εἴκασεν ὅπερ ἦν, καὶ τῶν θυγατέρων τὰ νεκρὰ οὕτως ἀνιμήσατο. πυθόμενος Ε δέ παρά των γειτόνων, ὅτι ἴδοιεν τῆ χθὲς ἡμέρα τους και πρώην καταχθέντας ἐπ' αὐτους Λακεδαιμονίους εἰσιόντας, συνεβάλετο τὴν πρᾶξιν ἐκείνων, ότι καὶ πρώην συνεχῶς ἐπήνουν τὰς κόρας, μακαρίζοντες τούς γαμήσοντας.

'Απήει εἰς Λακεδαίμονα, τοῖς ἐφόροις ἐντευξόμενος' γενόμενος δ' ἐν τῆ 'Αργολικῆ, νυκτὸς καταλαμβανούσης, εἰς πανδοκεῖόν τι κατήχθη· κατὰ' τὸ αὐτὸ δὲ καὶ πρεσβύτης τις ἔτερος τὸ γένος ἐξ

το αυτό δε και πρεσρυτης τις ετερος το γενος εξ Γ'Ωρεοῦ πόλεως τῆς 'Εστιαιάτιδος' οὖ στενάξαντος καὶ κατὰ Λακεδαιμονίων ἀρὰς ποιουμένου ἀκούσας ὁ Σκέδασος ἐπυθάνετο τί κακὸν ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων πεπονθὼς είη. ὁ δὲ διηγεῖτο, ὡς ὑπήκοος

<sup>1</sup> κατά added by Hirschig.

#### LOVE STORIES, 773

the worthy character of Scedasus, and the next day went away to Delphi, for that was the place for which they were bound. And when they had consulted the god about the matters which concerned them, they went back again towards home, and passing through Boeotia they stopped again at the house of Scedasus. Now he, as it happened, was not at Leuctra: but his daughters, in accordance with their usual custom, received the strangers, who, finding the maidens unprotected, ravished them; and then, seeing that they were exceedingly distressed by the violent wrong they had suffered, they killed them, threw their bodies into a well, and went away. When Scedasus came home, he missed the girls, but found everything that he had left in the house undisturbed, and so he did not know what to make of it all until, because his dog kept whimpering and often running up to him and from him to the well, he guessed the truth, and so drew up the bodies of his daughters. And finding out from his neighbours that on the previous day they had seen going into his house the Lacedaemonians who had been entertained there shortly before, he guessed that they had done the deed, because during their previous visit they had constantly been praising the girls and talking of the happiness of their future husbands.

Scedasus set out for Lacedaemon to see the ephors, and when he was in the territory of Argos night came upon him, so he put up at an inn, and at the same inn was another elderly man, a native of the city of Oreus in the territory of Hestiaea. Scedasus heard him groaning and uttering curses against the Lacedaemonians, so he asked him what harm the Lacedaemonians had done him. Then he proceeded to

μέν έστι τῆς Σπάρτης, πεμφθείς δ' είς 'Ωρεόν Αριστόδημος άρμοστής παρά Λακεδαιμονίων ώμότητα καὶ παρανομίαν ἐπιδείξαιτο πολλήν. " ἐρασθείς γάρ," έφη, " τοῦ έμοῦ παιδός, ἐπειδή πείθειν άδύνατος ήν, ἐπεχείρει βιάσασθαι καὶ ἀπάγειν αὐτὸν τῆς παλαίστρας κωλύοντος δὲ τοῦ παιδοτρίβου καὶ νεανίσκων πολλών ἐκβοηθούντων, παραχρήμα δ 'Αριστόδημος ἀπεχώρησε' τή δ' ύστεραία πληρώσας τριήρη συνήρπασε το μειράκιον, καὶ ἐξ ՝ Ὠρεοῦ διαπλεύσας εἰς την περαίαν ἐπεχείρει ὑβρίσαι, οὐ συγχωροῦντα δ' αὐτὸν ἀπέσφαξεν. 774 ἐπανελθών δ' εἰς τὴν 'Ωρεὸν εὐωχεῖτο. ἐγὼ δ'," ἔφη, ' τὸ πραχθέν πυθόμενος καὶ τὸ σῶμα κηδεύσας παρεγενόμην είς την Σπάρτην καὶ τοῖς έφόροις ένετύγχανον οί δε λόγον ούκ εποιοθντο." Σκέδασος δε ταθτα ακούων αθύμως διέκειτο. ύπολαμβάνων ότι οὐδ' αὐτοῦ λόγον τινὰ ποιήσονται οί Σπαρτιάται εν μέρει τε την οικείαν διηγήσατο συμφοράν τῷ ξένῳ ὁ δὲ παρεκάλει αὐτὸν μηδ' έντυχεῖν τοις εφόροις, αλλ' υποστρέψαντα είς την Βοιωτίαν κτίσαι των θυγατέρων τον τάφον. οὐκ ἐπείθετο δ' ὅμως ὁ Σκέδασος, ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην Β ἀφικόμενος τοῖς ἐφόροις ἐντυγχάνει ὧν μηδὲν προσεχόντων, έπι τους βασιλέας ιεται και άπὸ τούτων έκάστω των δημοτών προσιών ωδύρετο. μηδεν δε πλέον ανύων έθει δια μέσης της πόλεως, ανατείνων πρὸς ήλιον τω χεῖρε, αὖθις δὲ τὴν γῆν τύπτων άνεκαλείτο τὰς Ερινύας καὶ τέλος αύτον τοῦ ζην μετέστησεν.

Υστέρω γε μην χρόνω δίκας έδοσαν οἱ Λακε-

 $<sup>^{1}</sup>$  έφη Bernardakis: έφθην (έφην Urb.)

#### LOVE STORIES, 773-774

tell that he was a subject of Sparta and that Aristodemus, who had been sent by the Lacedaemonians to Oreus as governor, had shown himself very lawless "For," said he, "he fell in love with my young son and, when he could not gain him by persuasion, he tried to take him from the palaestra by force. But the teacher of gymnastics interfered, and many young fellows came out to help, so for the time being Aristodemus went away : but the next day he manned a ship of war, seized the boy, sailed from Oreus to the opposite shore, and tried to rape him; then when the boy would not submit, he cut his throat and killed him, after which he went back to Oreus and gave a dinner-party. But as for me," he said, "I learned of the deed, performed the funeral rites over the body, then went to Sparta and had an audience with the ephors; but they paid no attention to me." When Scedasus heard this he was disheartened, for he suspected that the Spartans would pay no attention to him either; and he in turn told the stranger of his own misfortune. Then the · to go to see the ephors, nd build his daughters'

tomb. Scedasus, however, did not take this advice, but went to Sparta and spoke with the ephors. They paid no attention to him, so he hurried to the kings, and from them he went up to every one of the citizens and told his tale of woe. And when nothing did any good, he ran through the midst of the city stretching up his hands towards the sun, and again he beat upon the ground and summoned up the Erinyes, and finally he put an end to his life.

Later, however, the Lacedaemonians certainly paid

(774) δαιμόνιοι ἐπειδή γὰρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἁπάντων ήρχον καὶ τὰς πόλεις φρουραίς κατειλήφεσαν, Έπαμεινώνδας ο Θηβαίος πρώτον μέν την παρ' αύτῷ φρουρὰν ἀπέσφαξε Λακεδαιμονίων των δ' Ο ἐπὶ τούτω πόλεμον έξενεγκάντων, ἀπήντων οί Θηβαΐοι ἐπὶ τὰ Λεῦκτρα, αἰσιούμενοι τὸ χωρίον. ότι καὶ πρότερον ἐνταῦθα ἡλευθερώθησαν, ότε 'Αμφικτύων' ύπο Σθενέλου φυνάς έλαθείς είς την Θηβαίων αφίκετο πόλιν και Χαλκιδεύσιν ύποφόρους λαβών επαυσε τον δασμόν, Χαλκώδοντα τον βασιλέα των Ευβοέων αποκτείνας. συνέβη δέ Λακεδαιμονίων ήτταν παντελή γενέσθαι περί αὐτό τό μνήμα τῶν Σκεδάσου θυγατέρων. φασί δὲ πρό της μάχης Πελοπίδα, ένὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν τοῦ D Θηβαϊκοῦ στρατεύματος, ἐπὶ σημείοις τισὶν οὐ καλοις κρινομένοις θορυβουμένω Σκέδασον έπιστήναι κατά τούς υπνους, θαρρείν κελεύοντα παραγίνεσθαι γάρ εἰς Λεῦκτρα Λακεδαιμονίους, αὐτῶ τε καὶ ταῖς θυγατράσι δώσοντας δίκας· πρὸ μιᾶς δ' ήμέρας η συμβαλείν τοίς Λακεδαιμονίοις, πώλον εκέλευεν ιππου λευκόν ετοιμον παρά τῷ τάφω τῶν παρθένων σφαγιάσασθαι. τὸν δὲ Πελοπίδαν, ἔτι των Λακεδαιμονίων στρατευομένων έν Τεγέα, είς Λεῦκτρα πέμψαι τοὺς έξετάσοντας περί τοῦ τάφου τούτου, καὶ πυθόμενον παρὰ τῶν ἐγχωρίων θαρρούντα την στρατιάν έξαγαγείν και νικήσαι.

¹ αὐτῷ Bernardakis: αὐτῷ.
 ਖμφικτύων] ᾿Αμφιτρύων Ricardus, σf. Paus. ix. 19. 3.
 ਖ Πελοπίδᾳ Bernardakis: Πελοπίδῃ.
 καλοῖς Bryan: καλῶς.

#### LOVE STORIES, 774

the penalty. For when they were rulers of all the Greeks and had placed their garrisons in the cities, Epaminondas the Theban first slaughtered the garrison of the Lacedaemonians in his own city, and when thereupon the Lacedaemonians made war upon the Thebans, the latter met them at Leuctra, a thinking it a place of good omen, because at an earlier time they had gained their freedom there, when Amphictyon, having been driven into exile by Sthenelus, came to the city of the Thebans and, finding them tributaries of the Chalcidians, freed them from the tribute by killing Chalcodon, king of the Euboeans. Now it happened that the utter defeat of the Lacedaemonians took place precisely in the vicinity of the tombstone of the daughters of Scedasus. And the story goes that before the battle Pelopidas, one of the generals of the Theban army, was disturbed by some omens which were considered unfavourable and that in his sleep Scedasus came and stood over him and told him to be of good courage, for the Lacedaemonians were coming to Leuctra to pay the penalty to him and his daughters; and he enjoined upon him one day before fighting the Lacedaemonians to make ready a white colt and sacrifice it at the tomb of the maidens. So Pelopidas, while the Lacedaemonians were still in camp at Tegea, sent some men to Leuctra to find out about this tomb, and when he learned about it from the inhabitants of the place, he led out his army with confidence and was victorious.

<sup>4</sup> A village in Bocotia. The battle, which ended the Spartan hegemony, took place in 371 B.C.

#### Δ

Ε Φῶκος Βοιώτιος μὲν ἦν τῷ γένει, ἦν γὰρ έκ Γλίσαντος, πατήρ δε Καλλιρρόης κάλλει τε καὶ σωφροσύνη διαφερούσης. ταύτην έμνηστεύοντο νεανίαι τριάκοντα εὐδοκιμώτατοι ἐν Βοιωτία ὁ δὲ Φῶκος ἄλλας ἐξ ἄλλων ἀναβολὰς τῶν γάμων έποιείτο, φοβούμενος μή βιασθείη, τέλος λιπαρούντων ἐκείνων, ήξίου ἐπὶ τῷ Πυθίῳ ποιήσασθαι την αίρεσιν. οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὸν λόγον ἐχαλέπηναν καὶ δρμήσαντες ἀπέκτειναν τὸν Φῶκον. έν δὲ τῷ θορύβῳ ή κόρη φυγοῦσα ἵετο διὰ τῆς F χώρας· εδίωκον δ' αὐτὴν οἱ νεανίαι. τυχοῦσα γεωργοῖς ἄλω συντιθεῖσι σωτηρίας ἔτυχε παρ' αὐτῶν ἀπέκρυψαν γὰρ αὐτὴν οἱ γεωργοὶ ἐν τῷ σίτῳ. καὶ οὖτω παρῆξαν μὲν οἱ διώκοντες. ή δε διασωθεΐσα εφύλαξε την των Παμβοιωτίων έορτήν, και τότε είς Κορώνειαν έλθοῦσα ίκέτις καθέζεται ἐπὶ τῷ βωμῷ τῆς Ἰτωνίας ᾿Αθηνᾶς καὶ τῶν μνηστήρων τὴν παρανομίαν διηγεῖτο, τό τε έκάστου όνομα καὶ τὴν πατρίδα σημαίνουσα. ηλέουν οὖν οἱ Βοιωτοὶ τὴν παΐδα καὶ τοῖς νεανίαις ήγανάκτουν· οί δὲ ταῦτα πυθόμενοι εἰς 'Ορχομενὸν καταφεύγουσιν. οὐ δεξαμένων δ' αὐτοὺς τῶν 775 'Ορχομενίων πρὸς Ίππότας εἰσώρμησαν κώμη δ' ήν παρά τῷ Έλικῶνι κειμένη μεταξύ Θίσβης καὶ Κορωνείας οἱ δ' ὑποδέχονται αὐτούς. εἶτα πέμπουσι Θηβαίοι έξαιτούντες τους Φώκου φονείς. των δ' οὐ διδόντων, ἐστράτευσαν μὲν μετὰ των

<sup>1</sup> Γλίσαντος Xylander: κλείσαντος.

<sup>\*</sup> i.e. by the disappointed suitors.

The cult of Athena Itonia was brought to Boeotia by

#### LOVE STORIES, 774-775

#### IV

Phocus was by birth a Boeotian, for he was from the town of Glisas, and he was the father of Callirrhoë, who excelled in beauty and modesty. She was wooed by thirty young men, the most highly esteemed in Bocotia; but Phocus found one reason after another for putting off her marriage, for he was afraid that violence would be done to him a; at last, however, he vielded to their demands, but asked to leave the choice to the Pythian oracle. The suitors were incensed by the proposal, rushed upon Phocus, and killed him. In the confusion the maiden got away and fled through the country, but the young men pursued her. She came upon some farmers making a threshing-floor, and found safety with them, for the farmers hid her in the grain, and so her pursuers P-1-e waited in safety until the festival . when she went to Coroneia, took her seat on the altar of Athena Itonia, and told of the lawless act of the suitors, giving the name and birthplace of each. So the Boeotians pitied the maid and were angry with the young men. When they learned of this, they fled for refuge to Orchomenus,

learned of this, they fled for refuge to Orchomenus, and when the Orchomenians refused to receive them, they forced their way into Hippotae, a village lying on the slope of Mount Helicon between Thisbè and Coroneia. There they were received. Then the Thebans sent and demanded the slayers of Phocus, and when the people of Hippotae refused to deliver them, the Thebans, along with the rest of the

the Ionians when they were driven out by the Thessalians. Her sanctuary near Coroneia was the place of the Pamboeotia, the festival of the united Boeotians.

(775) ἄλλων Βοιωτῶν, στρατηγοῦντος Φοίδου, ὅς τότε τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν Θηβαίων διεῦπε΄ πολιορκήσαντες δὲ τὴν κώμην ὀχυρὰν οῦσαν, δίψει δὲ τῶν ἔνδον κρατηθέντων, τοὺς μὲν φονεῖς ληφθέντας κατέλευσαν, τοὺς δ΄ ἐν τῆ κώμη ἐξηνδραποδίσαντο΄ κατα Β σκάψαντες δὲ τὰ τείχη καὶ τὰς οἰκίας διένειμαν τὴν χώραν Θυσβεῦσι' τε καὶ Κορωνεῦσι. φασὶ δὲ νυκτός, πρὸ τῆς ἀλώσεως τῶν Ἱπποτῶν, φωνὴν ἐκ τοῦ Ἑλικῶνος πολλάκις ἀκουσθῆναι λέγοντός τινος '΄ πάρειμι'' τοὺς δὲ μνηστῆρας τοὺς τριάκοντα τόδε τὸ φώνημα γνωρίζειν, ὅτι Φώκου εἰη. ຖῆ δ΄ ἡμέρα κατελεύσθησαν, τὸ ἐν Γλίσαντι² μνῆμα τοῦ γέροντος κρόκω φασὶ ρεῦσαι Φοίδω δέ, τῷ Θηβαίων ἄρχοντι καὶ στρατηγῷ, ἐκ τῆς μάχης ἐπανιόντι ἀγγελθῆναι θυγατέρα γεγενημένην, ἡν³ αἰσιούμενον προσαγορεῦσαι Νικοστράτην.

#### E

C "Αλκιππος τὸ μὲν γένος Λακεδαιμόνιος ἡν γήμας δὲ Δαμοκρίταν πατὴρ θυγατέρων γίνεται δύο συμβουλεύων τε τῆ πόλει κράτιστά τε καὶ πράττων ὅτου δέοιντο Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἐφθονήθη ὑπὸ τῶν ἀντιπολιτευομένων, οἱ τοὺς ἐφόρους ψευδέσι λόγοις παραγαγόντες, ὡς τοῦ ᾿Αλκίππου βουλομένου τοὺς νόμους καταλῦσαι, ψυγῆ περιέβαλον τὸν ἄνδρα. καὶ ὁ μὲν ὑπεξῆλθε τῆς Σπάρτης, Δαμοκρίταν δὲ τὴν γυναῖκα μετὰ τῶν θυγατέρων

Θιοβεῦσι Bernardakis: Θηβεῦσι.
 ἐν Γλίσαντι Bernardakis: ἐγγίσαντι.
 ἢν added by Wyttenbach.

#### LOVE STORIES, 775

Boeotians, took the field under the command of Phoedus, who at that time administered the government of Thebes. They besieged the village, which was well fortified, and when they had overcome the inhabitants by thirst, they took the murderers and stoned them to death and made slaves of the villagers; then they pulled down the walls and the houses and divided the land between the people of Thisbê and of Coroneia. It is said that in the night, before the capture of Hippotae, there was heard many times from Helicon a voice of someone saving "I am here," and that the thirty suitors recognized the voice as that of Phocus. It is said also that on the day when they were stoned to death the old man's monument at Glisas ran with saffron; and that as Phoedus, the ruler and general of the Thebans, was returning from the battle, he received the news of the birth of a daughter and, thinking it of good omen, he named her Nicostrata.a

#### v

Alcippus was a Lacedaemonian by birth; he married Damocrita and became the father of two daughters. Now since he was a most excellent counsellor to the state and conducted affairs to the satisfaction of the Lacedaemonians, he was envied by his political opponents, who misled the ephors by false statements to the effect that Alcippus wished to destroy the constitution, and they thereby brought about his exile. So he departed from Sparta, but when his wife Damocrita, with their daughters,

(775) βουλομένην ἔπεσθαι τἀνδρὶ ἐκώλυον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτοῦ ἐδήμευσαν, ἵνα μὴ εὐπορῶσι προικὸς D αἱ παρθένοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ὧς ἐμνηστεύοντό τινες

τάς παίδας διά την του πατρός άρετην, εκώλυσαν οί έγθροι διά ψηφίσματος μνηστεύεσθαί τινας τάς κόρας, λέγοντες ώς ή μήτηρ αὐτῶν Δαμοκρίτα πολλάκις εύξατο τὰς θυγατέρας ταχέως γεννήσαι παίδας τιμωρούς τῷ πατρὶ γενησομένους. πανταγόθεν δ' ή Δαμοκρίτα περιελαυνομένη ετήρησέ τινα πάνδημον έορτήν, έν ή γυναίκες άμα παρθένοις και οἰκείοις και νηπίοις εώρταζον, αι δε των έν τέλει καθ' έαυτας έν ανδρώνι μεγάλω διεπαννύχιζον: ξίφος τε ὑποζωσαμένη καὶ τὰς κόρας λαβούσα νυκτός ήλθεν είς τὸ ίερον καιρόν παρα-Ε φυλάξασα, εν ῷ πᾶσαι το μυστήριον επετέλουν εν τῷ ἀνδρῶνι καὶ κεκλεισμένων τῶν εἰσόδων, ξύλα ταις θύραις πολλά προσνήσασα (ταῦτα δ' ἢν εἰς την της έορτης θυσίαν ύπ' έκείνων παρεσκευασμένα), πῦρ ἐνῆκε. συνθεόντων δὲ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐπὶ την βοήθειαν, η Δαμοκρίτα τας θυγατέρας απέσφαξε και έπ' έκείναις έαυτήν. οὐκ ἔχοντες δ' οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, όπη τὸν θυμὸν ἀπερείσωνται, έκτὸς όρων έρριψαν της τε Δαμοκρίτας και τών θυγατέρων τὰ σώματα. ἐφ' ῷ μηνίσαντος τοῦ θεοῦ τόν μέγαν ίστοροῦσι Λακεδαιμονίοις σεισμόν έπιγενέσθαι.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> ἀπερείσωνται Bernardakis: ἀπερείσονται.

#### LOVE STORIES, 775

wished to follow her husband, she was prevented from doing so, and moreover his property was confiscated, that the girls might not be provided with dowries. And when even so there were some suitors who wooed the girls on account of their father's high character, his enemies got a bill passed forbidding anyone to woo the girls, saying that their mother Damocrita had often prayed that her daughters might speedily bear sons who should grow up to be their father's avengers. Damocrita, being harassed on all sides, waited for a general festival in which married women along with unmarried girls, slaves, and infant children took part, and the wives of those in authority passed the whole night in a great hall by themselves. Then she buckled a sword about her waist, took the girls, and went by night into the sacred place, waiting for the moment when all the women were performing the mysteries in the hall. Then, after the entrances had all been closed, she heaped a great quantity of wood against the doors (this had been prepared by the others for the sacrifice belonging to the festival) and set it on fire. And when the men came running up to save their wives, Damocrita killed her daughters with the sword and then herself over their dead bodies. But the Lacedaemonians, not knowing how to vent their anger, threw the bodies of Damocrita and her daughters out beyond the boundaries; and they say that because the god was offended by this the great earthquake a came upon the Lacedaemonians.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Probably the earthquake of 464 s.c. is meant.



# THAT A PHILOSOPHER OUGHT TO CONVERSE ESPECIALLY WITH MEN IN POWER

(MAXIME CUM PRINCIPIBUS PHILOSOPHO ESSE DISSERENDUM)



#### INTRODUCTION

This brief essay was written in support of the contention that the philosopher should exert himself to influence the thought and conduct of men in power and should not shut himself away from the world. This view is consistent with Plutarch's own life. essay is less carefully written than some of the others. and the text is somewhat uncertain in a few places, among which may be mentioned the very first sentence. In this the first word, Sorcanus, appears to be a proper name, but the name does not occur elsewhere, and therefore numerous emendations have been proposed. If the reading is correct, Sorcanus was some important personage and must have been well known to the person, whoever he was, to whom the essay is addressed; for although not written exactly in the form of a letter, the essay seems to be intended primarily for some one person's edification or entertainment.

# ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΟΤΙ ΜΑΛΙΣΤΑ ΤΟΙΣ ΗΓΕΜΟΣΙ ΔΕΙ ΤΟΝ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΟΝ ΔΙΑΛΕΓΈΣΘΑΙ

776 1. Σωρκανὸν¹ ἐγκολπίσασθαι καὶ φιλίαν τιμῶν Β καὶ μετιέναι καὶ προσδέχεσθαι καὶ γεωργεῖν, πολλοῖς μὲν ἰδία πολλοῖς δὲ καὶ δημοσία χρήσιμον καὶ έγκαρπον γενησομένην, φιλοκάλων έστὶ καὶ πολιτικών καὶ φιλανθρώπων οὐχ ώς ἔνιοι νομίζουσι φιλοδόξων άλλά και τουναντίον, φιλόδοξός έστι καὶ ψοφοδεής ὁ φεύγων καὶ φοβούμενος ἀκοῦσαι λιπαρής τῶν ἐν ἐξουσία καὶ θεραπευτικός. ἐπεὶ τί φησιν ἀνὴρ θεραπευτικὸς² καὶ φιλοσοφίας δεό-μενος; Σίμων οὖν³ γένωμαι δ σκυτοτόμος ἢ Διονύσιος ο γραμματιστής έκ Περικλέους Κάτωνος, ίνα μοι προσδιαλέγηται καὶ προσκαθίζη C ώς Σωκράτης ἐκείνω<sup>4</sup>; καὶ ᾿Αρίστων μὲν ὁ Χίος ἐπὶ τῶ πᾶσι διαλέγεσθαι τοῖς βουλομένοις ύπο των σοφιστών κακώς ακούων '' ὤφελεν,'' εἶπε , '' καὶ τὰ θηρία λόγων συνιέναι κινητικών πρὸς άρετήν " ήμεις δε φευξούμεθα τοις δυνατοις καί

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Bernadakis, following Pape, would prefer Σωρανόν.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> θεραπευτικός] θεραπεύσεως Duebner; πολιτικός Reiske; πρακτικός Bernardakis; cf. 777 A.
<sup>3</sup> ούν Bernardakis; cf.

<sup>\*</sup> ώς Σωκράτης έκείνω Capps; ο Σωκράτης ώς έκείνοις 28

# THAT A PHILOSOPHER OUGHT TO CONVERSE ESPECIALLY WITH MEN IN POWER

1. In clasping Sorcanus to your bosom, in prizing, pursuing, welcoming, and cultivating his friendship -a friendship which will prove useful and fruitful to many in private and to many in public life-you are acting like a man who loves what is noble, who is public-spirited and is a friend of mankind, not, as some people say, like one who is merely ambitious for himself. No, on the contrary, the man who is ambitious for himself and afraid of every whisper is just the one who avoids and fears being called a persistent and servile attendant on those in power. For what does a man say who is an attendant upon philosophy and stands in need of it? "Let me change from Pericles or Cato and become Simo the cobbler or Dionysius the schoolmaster, in order that the philosopher may converse with me and sit beside me as Socrates did with Pericles." And while it is true that Ariston of Chios, when the sophists spoke ill of him for talking with all who wished it, said, "I wish even the beasts could understand words which incite to virtue," yet as for us, shall we avoid becoming intimate with

Wyttenbach , ώς Σωκράτης, ἐκεῖνος Bernardakis: ώς Σωκράτης ἐκείνοις.
δ εἶπε Meziriacus: εἰπεῖν.

(776) ήγεμονικοῖς ὤσπερ ἀγρίοις καὶ ἀνημέροις γίγνεσθαι συνήθεις;

Οὐκ "ἀνδριαντοποιός" ἐστιν ὁ τῆς φιλοσοφίας λόγος, "ωστ' ελινύοντα ποιεῖν ἀγάλματ' ἐπ' αὐτᾶς βαθμίδος έσταότα " κατὰ Πίνδαρον άλλ' ἐνεργά βούλεται ποιείν ών αν αψηται καὶ πρακτικά καὶ ἔμψυχα καὶ κινητικάς όρμας ἐντίθησι¹ καὶ κρίσεις άγωγούς έπὶ τὰ ωφέλιμα καὶ προαιρέσεις D φιλοκάλους καὶ φρόνημα καὶ μέγεθος μετὰ πραότητος καὶ ἀσφαλείας, δι' ὧν τοῖς ὑπερέχουσι καὶ δυνατοίς όμιλοῦσιν οἱ πολιτικοί προθυμότερον. καὶ γάρ, αν ιατρός ή φιλόκαλος, ήδιον όφθαλμον lάσεται τὸν ὑπὲρ πολλῶν βλέποντα καὶ πολλούς φυλάσσοντα· καὶ φιλόσοφος ψυχῆς ἐπιμελήσεται προθυμότερον, ην ύπερ πολλών φροντίζουσαν όρα καί πολλοις φρονείν και σωφρονείν και δικαιοπραγείν οφείλουσαν. και γάρ ει δεινός ήν περί Ε ζήτησιν ύδάτων καὶ συναγωγήν, ώσπερ ίστοροθσι τον 'Ηρακλέα και πολλούς των πάλαι, οὐκ ἂν έχαιρε φρεωρυχῶν ἐν ἐσχατιῷ '΄ παρὰ Κόρακος πέτρη '' τὴν συβωτικὴν ἐκείνην 'Αρέθουσαν, ἀλλὰ ποταμοῦ τινος ἀενάους πηγὰς ἀνακαλύπτων πόλεσι καὶ στρατοπέδοις καὶ φυτείαις βασιλέων καὶ ἄλσεσιν. ἀκούομεν δὴ Ὁμήρου τὸν Μίνω " θεοῦ μεγάλου δαριστήν" ἀποκαλοῦντος τοῦτο δ' ἐστίν,

¹ ἐντίθησι Reiske: ἐπιτίθησι.
¹ ἀσφαλείας | ἀφελείας Wyttenbach, Frerichs.
¹ πολιτικοί] πολίται Hartman. Perhaps φιλόσοφοι?
⁴ πόλεοι Pohlenz: πόλει τε.

# PHILOSOPHERS AND MEN IN POWER, 776

powerful men and rulers, as if they were wild and

savage?

The teaching of philosophy is not, if I may use the words of Pindar," "a sculptor to carve statues doomed to stand idly on their pedestals and no more"; no, it strives to make everything that it touches active and efficient and alive, it inspires men with impulses which urge to action, with judgements that lead them towards what is useful, with preferences for things that are honourable, with wisdom and greatness of mind joined to gentleness and conservatism, and because they possess these qualities, men of public spirit are more eager to converse with the prominent and powerful. Certainly if a physician is a man of high ideals, he will be better pleased to cure the eye which sees for many and watches over many, and a philosopher will be more eager to attend upon a soul which he sees is solicitous for many and is under obligation to be wise and self-restrained and just in behalf of many. For surely, if he were skilled in discovering and collecting water, as they say Heracles and many of the ancients were, he would not delight in digging the swineherd's fount of Arethusa b in a most distant spot "by the Crow's Rock," but in uncovering the unfailing sources of some river for cities and camps and the plantations of kings and sacred groves. So we hear Homer calling Minos" the great god's oaristes," which

b Homer, Od. xiii. 404-410. The allusion is to the feedingplace of the swine tended by Eumaeus.

o Od. xix. 179.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Pindar, Nem. v. 1 οὐκ ἀνδριωντοποιός εἰμ', ιστ' ελινύσοντα ἐργάζεσθαι ἀγάλματ' ἐπ' αὐτᾶς βαθμίδος, loosely quoted. The translation is adapted from that of Sir John Sandys (in L.C.L.).

ως φησιν ο Πλάτων, όμιλητην και μαθητήν οὐδέ γάρ ιδιώτας οὐδ' οἰκουρούς οὐδ' ἀπράκτους ηξίουν είναι θεών μαθητάς, άλλά βασιλείς, οίς F εὐβουλίας ενγενομένης καὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ χρηστότητος και μεγαλοφροσύνης, πάντες έμελλον χρώμενοι. ώφεληθήσεσθαι και απολαύσειν<sup>2</sup> oi το ηρύγγιον το βοτάνιον λέγουσι μιᾶς αίγος είς τό στόμα λαβούσης, αὐτήν τε πρώτην ἐκείνην καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν αἰπόλιον ιστασθαί, μέχρι αἰπόλος εξέλη προσελθών τοιαύτην έχουσιν αί ἀπορροιαὶ τῆς δυνάμεως ὀξύτητα, πυρὸς δίκην έπινεμομένην τὰ γειτνιώντα καὶ κατασκιδναμένην. καὶ μὴν ὁ τοῦ φιλοσόφου λόγος, ἐὰν μὲν ἰδιώτην ένα λάβη, χαίροντα ----- περιγράφοντα γεωμετοικῶ έαυτον ώς κέντρω 777 ταῖς περὶ τὸ σῶμα χρείαις, οὐ διαδίδωσιν έτέρους, άλλ' εν ενί ποιήσας εκείνω γαλήνην καί ήσυχίαν ἀπεμαράνθη καὶ συνεξέλιπεν. αν δ' άρχοντος ἀνδρός καὶ πολιτικοῦ καὶ πρακτικοῦ καθάψηται καὶ τοῦτον ἀναπλήση καλοκαγαθίας, ένος ωφέλησεν, ως 'Αναξαγόρας πολλούς δι' Περικλέι συγγενόμενος και Πλάτων Δίωνι και Πυθαγόρας τοις πρωτεύουσιν Ίταλιωτών. Κάτων δ' αὐτὸς ἔπλευσεν ἀπὸ στρατιᾶς ἐπ' 'Αθηνόδωρον. καί Σκιπίων μετεπέμψατο Παναίτιον, ότ' αὐτὸν ή σύγκλητος έξέπεμψεν

ανθρώπων ύβριν τε καὶ εὐνομίην ἐφορώμενου

ἐγγενομένης Duebner: γενομένης.
 ἀπολαύσειν Coraes: ἀπολαύειν.
 ἡρύγγιον Herwerden: ἐρύγγιον.
 ἀπορατίας Coraes: στρατείας.

#### PHILOSOPHERS AND MEN IN POWER, 776-777

means, according to Plato, "familiar friend and pupil." For they did not think that pupils of the gods should be plain citizens or stay-at-homes or idlers, but kings, from whose good counsel, justice, goodness, and high-mindedness, if those qualities were implanted in them, all who had to do with them would receive benefit and profit. Of the plant erungium they say that if one goat take it in its mouth, first that goat itself and then the entire herd stands still until the herdsman comes and takes the plant out, such pungency, like a fire which spreads over everything near it and scatters itself abroad, is possessed by the emanations of its potency. Certainly the teachings of the philosopher, if they take hold of one person in private station who enjoys abstention from affairs and circumscribes himself by his bodily comforts, as by a circle drawn with geometrical compasses, do not spread out to others, but merely create calmness and quiet in that one man. then dry up and disappear. But if these teachings take possession of a ruler, a statesman, and a man of action and fill him with love of honour, through one he benefits . by associating with Pericle Pvthagoras with the chief men of the Italiote Greeks. Cato himself sailed from his army to visit Athenodorus; and Scipio sent for Panaetius when he himself was sent out by the senate

to view the violence and lawfulness of men,

Minos, 319 p. Generally regarded as spurious.

<sup>· °</sup> ἐφορώμενον Xylander; ἐφορῶντες, Homer, Od. xvii. 487: ὑφορώμενον.

(777) Β΄ ως φησι Ποσειδώνιος. τί οὖν ἔδει λέγειν τὸν Β΄ Παναίτιον; εἰ μὲν ἦς ἢ Βάτων ἢ Πολυδεύκης ἤ τις ἄλλος ἰδιώτης, τὰ μέσα τῶν πόλεων ἀποδιδράσκειν βουλόμενος, ἐν γωνία τινὶ καθ ἢ ἡσυχίαν ἀναλύων συλλογισμοὺς καὶ περιέλκων ἀμλοσόφων, ἄσμενος ἄν σε προσεδεξάμην καὶ συνῆν ἐπεὶ δ' υἰδς μὲν Αἰμιλίου Παύλου τοῦ δισυπάτου γέγονας, υἰωνὸς δὲ Σκιπίωνος τοῦ ᾿Αφρικανοῦ τοῦ νικήσαντος τὸν ᾿Αννίβαν τὸν Καρχηδόνιον, οὐκ οὖν σοι διαλέξομαι';

2. Τό δε λέγειν ὅτι δύο λόγοι εἰσίν, ὁ μὲν ενδιάθετος ἡγεμόνος Ἑρμοῦ δῶρον, ὁ δ' ἐν προφορῷ διάκτορος καὶ ὀργανικός, ἔωλόν ἐστι καὶ ὑποπιπτέτω τῷ

C τουτὶ μὲν ἤδειν⁵ πρὶν Θέογνιν γεγονέναι.

ἐκεῖνο δ' οὐκ ἀν' ἐνοχλήσειεν, ὅτι καὶ τοῦ ἐνδιαθέτου λόγου καὶ τοῦ προφορικοῦ φιλία τέλος ἐστί, τοῦ μὲν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν τοῦ δὲ πρὸς ἔτερον. ὁ μὲν γὰρ εἰς ἀρετὴν διὰ φιλοσοφίας τελευτῶν σύμφωνον ἑαυτῷ καὶ ἄμεμπτον ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ μεστὸν εἰρήνης καὶ φιλοφροσύνης τῆς πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἀεὶ παρέχεται τὸν ἄνθρωπον.

1 Βάτων Wyttenbach: κάτων.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> περιέλκων] περιπλέκων Meziriacus; περὶ ἐλέγχων φιλοσοφῶν Xylander.

<sup>3</sup> οὖκ οὖν H.N.F.; οὖκουν Bernardakis; οὖκ ἀνεκτὸν ἂν Pohlenz: οὖκ ἄν.

# PHILOSOPHERS AND MEN IN POWER, 777

as Poseidonius says. Now what should Panaetius have said? "If you were Bato or Polydeuces or some other person in private station who wished to run away from the midst of cities and quietly in some corner solve or quibble bover the syllogisms of philosophers, I would gladly welcome you and consort with you; but since you are the son of Aemilius Paulus, who was twice consul, and the grandson of Scipio Africanus who overcame Hannibal the Carthaginian, shall I, therefore, not converse with you?"

2. But the statement that there are two kinds of speech, one residing in the mind, the gift of Hermes the Leader, and the other residing in the utterance, merely an attendant and instrument, is out of date;

we will let it come under the heading

Yes, this I knew before Theognis' birth.º

But that would not disturb us, because the aim and end of both the speech in the mind and the speech in the utterance is friendship, towards oneself and towards one's neighbour respectively; for the former, ending through philosophy in virtue, makes a man harmonious with himself, free from blame from himself, and full of peace and friendliness towards himself.

a Homer, Od. xvii. 487.

By an unknown comic poet; Kock, Com. Att. Frag. iii. p. 495. Cf. Moralia, 395 E, Aulus Gellius, i. 3, 19, Marx

on Lucilius 952.

b περιέλεω, literally "pull about." P" " ΄΄ κ. λ.'!», 53° μ's says that the young, when new to κ. επι επι επι επι επι δουσερ σκυλάκια τῷ δλεων τε καὶ σπαράττεω τῷ λόγων τοὺς πλησίον det, " like little dogs, in pulling and tearing apart by argument those who happen to be near them."

(777) οὐ στάσις οὐδέ τε¹ δῆρις ἀναίσιος² ἐν μελέεσσιν, οὐ πάθος λόγω δυσπειθές, οὐχ δρμῆς μάχη πρός δρμήν, οὐ λογισμοῦ πρὸς λογισμὸν ἀντίβασις, οὐγ ωσπερ εν μεθορίω τοῦ επιθυμοῦντος καὶ τοῦ μετανοοῦντος τὸ τραχὺ καὶ ταραχῶδες καὶ τὸ ἡδόμενον,

D άλλ' εθμενή πάντα καὶ φίλα καὶ ποιοθντα πλείστων τυγχάνειν άγαθῶν καὶ έαυτῷ χαίρειν ἕκαστον. τοῦ δὲ προφορικοῦ τὴν Μοῦσαν ὁ Πίνδαρος "οὐ φιλοκερδη," φησίν, "οὐδ' ἐργάτιν" εἶναι πρότερον, οξμαι δέ μηδέ νῦν, ἀλλ' ἀμουσία καὶ ἀπειροκαλία τον κοινον Έρμην έμπολαίον και έμμισθον γενέσθαι. ου γάρ ή μεν 'Αφροδίτη ταις του Προποίτου" θυγατράσιν έμήνιεν ὅτι

πρώται μίσεα μηχανήσαντο καταχέειν νεανίσκων.

ή δ' Οὐρανία καὶ Καλλιόπη καὶ ή Κλειὼ χαίρουσι τοις ἐπ' ἀργυρίω λυμαινομένοις τον λόγον. ἀλλ' έμοιγε δοκεί τὰ τῶν Μουσῶν ἔργα καὶ δῶρα μᾶλλον η τὰ τῆς ᾿Αφροδίτης φιλοτήσια είναι. καὶ γὰρ τὸ Ε ένδοξον, ο τινες τοῦ λόγου ποιοῦνται τέλος, ώς

άρχη και σπέρμα φιλίας ήγαπήθη · μᾶλλον δ' ὅλως οί γε πολλοί κατ' εύνοιαν την δόξαν τίθενται, νομί-

 οὐδέ τε Xylander; ἢν οὐ Bergk: οὐ.
 ἀναίσιος Capps, cf. van Herwerden, Lex. Graec. Suppl. S.V.; avalojuos Meziriacus; analojos Bergk; evalojuos.

καὶ added by Reiske; τῷ added by Frerichs.
 Προποίτου Amyot; cf. Ovid, Metam, x. 221: προπόλου

οι προσπόλου.

5 μηγανήσαντο] μαχλήσαντο Bernardakis, Frerichs, and <sup>6</sup> ἐπ' Reiske: ἐν. some MSS.

<sup>7</sup> λυμαινομένοις Reiske; διαδιδομένοις Frerichs: διαδεχομένοις. A verse of an unknown poet, Ascribed to Empedocles by Bergk. b Isthm. ii. 10.

# PHILOSOPHERS AND MEN IN POWER, 777

Faction is not, nor is ill-starred strife, to be found in his members, a

there is no passion disobedient to reason, no strife of impulse ""." on the burder-line, as it were, between desire and repentance, but everything is gentle and friendly and makes each man gain the greatest number of benefits and be pleased with himself. But Pindar says by that the Muse of oral utterance was "not greedy of gain, nor toilsome" formerly, and I believe she is not so now either, but because of lack of education and of good taste the "common Hermes" has become venal and ready for hire. For it cannot be that, whereas Aphrodite was angry with the daughters of Propoetus a because

First they were to devise for young men a shower of abominations,<sup>s</sup>

yet Urania, Calliopê, and Clio are pleased with those who pollute speech for money. No, I think the works and gifts of the Muses are more conducive to friendship than are those of Aphroditê. For approbation, which some consider the end and purpose of speech, is admired as the beginning and seed of friendship; but most people rather bestow reputation altogether by goodwill, believing that we praise

From an unknown poet.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>c</sup> Kowôs 'Eouñs is a proverbial expression meaning "good luck should be shared" (cf. Menander, Arbitrants, 67; Lucian, Navigium, 12, p. 256; Theophrastus, Characters, 30. 7; Aristotle, 1201 a 20). But Hermes was god, not only of gain and luck, but also of cloquence, and here the meaning is that eloquence, which should be for the common good of all, has to be bought.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>d</sup> See Ovid, Metam. x. 221 ff., especially 238 ff.

ζοντες ήμας μόνον ἐπαινεῖν οθς φιλοθμεν. ἀλλ' οθτοι μέν, ώς δ 'Ιξίων διώκων την "Ηραν ώλισθεν είς την νεφέλην, ούτως άντι της φιλίας είδωλον άπατηλόν και πανηγυρικόν και περιφερόμενον ύπολαμβάνουσιν. ό δε νοῦν ἔχων, ἂν ἐν³ πολιτείαις καὶ πράξεσιν ἀναστρέφηται, δεήσεται δόξης τοσαύτης, όση δύναμιν περί τὰς πράξεις ἐκ τοῦ Ε πιστεύεσθαι δίδωσιν οὔτε γὰρ ἡδὺ μὴ βουλο-μένους οὔτε ράδιον ἀφελεῖν, βούλεσθαι δὲ ποιεῖ τὸ πιστεύειν· ώσπερ γὰρί τὸ φῶς μᾶλλόν ἐστιν ἀγαθὸν τοις βλέπουσιν ή τοις βλεπομένοις, ούτως ή δόξα τοις αἰσθανομένοις ἢ τοις μὴ παρορωμένοις. ὁ δ' άπηλλαγμένος τοῦ τὰ κοινὰ πράττειν καὶ συνών έαυτῷ καὶ τάγαθὸν ἐν ἡσυχία καὶ ἀπραγμοσύνη τιθέμενος την μεν εν όχλοις και θεάτροις πάνδημον 778 καὶ ἀναπεπταμένην δόξαν οὕτως ώς τὴν ᾿Αφροδίτην ό 'Ιππόλυτος '' ἄπωθεν άγνὸς ὢν ἀσπάζεται,' τῆς δέ νε των επιεικών και ελλονίμων οὐδ' αὐτός καταφρονεί πλοθτον δε και δόξαν ήγεμονικήν καί δύναμιν εν φιλίαις οὐ διώκει, οὐ μὴν οὐδε φεύγει ταῦτα μετρίω προσόντ' ήθει οὐδὲ γὰρ τοὺς καλοὺς των νέων διώκει και ώραίους, άλλα τους εθαγώνους καὶ κοσμίους καὶ φιλομαθεῖς οὐδ' οἶς ὥρα καὶ χάρις συνέπεται καὶ άνθος δεδίττεται τὸν φιλόσοφον οὐδ' ἀποσοβεῖ καὶ ἀπελαύνει τῶν ἀξίων ἐπιμελείας τὸ κάλλος. οὕτως οὖν ἀξίας ἡγεμονικῆς καὶ δυνάμεως ἀνδρὶ μετρίω καὶ ἀστείω προσούσης,

<sup>1</sup> μόνον Meziriacus: μὴ μόνον.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> ὑπολαμβάνουσιν] περιλαμβάνουσιν Coracs.

<sup>\*</sup> ev added by Coraes.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> γàρ added by Bernardakis.

δ βλεπομένοις Frerichs: μη βλεπομένοις. Bernardakis would omit βλεπομένοις and παρορωμένοις.

#### PHILOSOPHERS AND MEN IN POWER, 777-778

those only whom we love. But just as Ixion slipped into the cloud when he was pursuing Hera, so these people seize upon a deceptive, showy, and shifting appearance in lieu of friendship. But the man of sense, if he is engaged in active political life, will ask for so much reputation as will inspire confidence and thereby give him power for affairs; for it is neither pleasant nor easy to benefit people if they are unwilling, and confidence makes them willing. For just as light is more a blessing to those who see than to those who are seen, so reputation is more a blessing to those who are aware of it than to those who are not overlooked. But he who has withdrawn from public affairs, who communes with himself and thinks happiness is in quiet and uninterrupted leisure, he, "being chaste, worships afar off" a the reputation which is popular and widespread in crowds and theatres, even as Hippolytus worshipped Aphroditê, but even he does not despise reputation among the right-minded and estimable; but wealth, reputation as a leader, or power in his friendships he does not pursue, however neither does he avoid these qualities if they are associated with a temperate character; nor, for that matter, does he pursue those among the youths who are fine-looking and handsome, but those who are teachable and orderly and fond of learning; nor does the beauty of those whom he sees endowed with freshness, charm, and the flower of youth frighten the philosopher or scare him off and drive him away from those who are worthy of his attention. So, then, if the dignity that befits leadership and power are associated with a man of moderation and culture, the philosopher

Β οὐκ ἀφέξεται τοῦ φιλεῖν καὶ ἀγαπῶν οὐδὲ φοβήσεται (178) τὸ αὐλικὸς ἀκοῦσαι καὶ θεραπευτικός  $\cdot$ 

οί γὰρ Κύπριν φεύγοντες ἀνθρώπων ἄγαν νοσοῦσ' ὁμοίως τοῖς ἄγαν θηρωμένοις.

καὶ οἱ πρὸς ἔνδοξον οὖτως καὶ ἡγεμονικὴν φιλίαν ἔχοντες. ὁ μὲν οὖν ἀπράγμων φιλόσοφος οὐ φεύξεται τοὺς τοιούτους, ὁ δὲ πολιτικὸς καὶ περιέξεται αὐτῶν, ἄκουσινὶ οὖκ ἐνοχλῶν οὐδὶ ἐπισταθμεύων τὰ ἀπα διαλέξεσιν ἀκαίροις καὶ σοφιστικαῖς, βουλομένοις δὲ χαίρων καὶ διαλεγόμενος καὶ σχολάζων καὶ συνών προθύμως.

-

- Σπείρω δ' ἄρουραν δώδεχ' ἡμερῶν όδὸν Βερέκυντα χῶρον·
- Ο οῦτος εἰ μὴ μόνον φιλογέωργος ἀλλὰ καὶ φιλάνθρωπος ἦν, ἢδιον ἄν ἔσπειρε τὴν τοσούτους τρέφειν δυναμένην ἢ τὸ ᾿Αντισθένους ἐκεῖνο χωρίδιον, ὁ μόλις Αὐτολύκῳ³ παλαίειν ἄν ἤρκεσε\* εἰ δέ σε ἡρόμην τὴν οἰκουμένην ἄπασαν ἐπιστρέφειν παρ-
  - 1 ἄκουσιν Reiske: ἀκούειν.
  - <sup>2</sup> ήν added by Iunius.
     <sup>3</sup> Αθτολύκω Wyttenbach: αὐτὸ (αὐτῷ) αῦ,
     <sup>4</sup> παλαίων Bernardakis: πάλω.
  - δ ἄν ήρκεσε Wyttenbach: ἀνήρηκας; cf. Xen. Symp. 3. 8.

See Xen. Symposium, 3. 8, where Antisthenes says that

See Euripides, Hipp. 115, and Stobaeus, Flor. 63. 3; Nauck, Trag. Grasc. Frag. p. 493.

b Aesch. Niobe, Frag. 153, Nauck, Trag. Graec. Frag. p. 52. The speaker is Tantalus. The Berecynthian land is near Mount Berecynthus in Phrygia.

# PHILOSOPHERS AND MEN IN POWER, 778

will not hold aloof from making him a friend and cherishing him, nor will he be afraid of being called a courtier and a toady.

For those of men who too much Cypris shun Are mad as those who follow her too much: "

and so are those who take that attitude towards friendship with famous men and leaders. Hence, while the philosopher who abstains from public affairs will not avoid such men, yet one who is interested in public life will even go to them with open arms; he will not annoy them against their will, nor will he pitch his camp in their ears with inopportune sophistical disquisitions, but when they wish it, he will be glad to converse and spend his leisure with them and eager to associate with them.

 The field I sow is twelve days' journey round; Berecynthian land;

if this speaker was not merely a lover of agriculture but also a lover of his fellow men, he would find more pleasure in sowing the field which could feed so many men than in sowing that little plot of Antisthenes' a which would hardly have been big enough for Autolycus to wrestle in; but if [he meant]: "I sow all this in order that I may subjugate the whole inhabited world," I deprecate the sentiment.<sup>d</sup>

his land is hardly enough to furnish sand to sprinkle Autolycus with before wrestling.

<sup>4</sup> The text is very corrupt, but the general course of the argument based upon the lines supposed to have been spoken by Tantalus may very well have been what is given in the translation. If the rich and powerful use their advantages for the common good of men, they are worthy of the philosopher's attention, but not so if they use their resources for purely selfish ends. See critical note, p. 42.

(778) αιτοῦμαι.¹ καίτοι Ἐπίκουρος τάγαθὸν ἐν τῷ βαθυτάτω τῆς ἡσυχίας ὥσπερ ἐν ἀκλύστω λιμένι καὶ κωφῷ τιθέμενος τοῦ εὖ πάσχειν τὸ εὖ ποιεῖν οὐ μόνον κάλλιον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἥδιον εἶναί φησι.

χαρᾶς γὰρ οὕτω γόνιμόν οὐδὲν²

έστιν

λωσιν, ους4

ώς. χάρις.

ἀλλὰ σοφὸς ἢν ὁ ταῖς Χάρισι τὰ ὀνόματα θέμενος D'Αγλαϊην καὶ Εὐφροσύνην καὶ Θάλειαν· τὸ γὰρ ἀγαλλόμενον καὶ τὸ χαῖρον ἐν τῷ διδόντι τὴν χάριν πλεῖόν ἐστι καὶ καθαρώτερον. διὸ τῷ πάσχειν εδ³ αἰσχύνονται πολλάκις, ἀεὶ δ' ἀγάλλονται τῷ εδ ποιεῖν· εδ δὲ ποιοῦσι πολλοὺς οἱ ποιοῦντες ἀγαθοὺς ὧν πολλοὶ δέονται· καὶ τοὐναντίον, οἱ ἀεὶ διαφθείροντες ἡγεμόνας ἢ βασιλεῖς ἢ τυράννους διάβολοι καὶ σικοφάνται καὶ κόλακες ὑπὸ πάντων ἐλαύνονται καὶ κολάζονται, καθάπερ οὐκ εἰς μίαν κύλικα φάρμακον Ε ἐμβάλλοντες θανάσιμον, ἀλλὶ εἰς πηγὴν δημοσία ρέουσαν, ἢ χρωμένους πάντας ὁρῶσιν. ὤσπερ οῦν τοὺς Καλλίου κωμωδουμένους κόλακας γε-

> οὐ πῦρ οὐδὲ⁵ σίδηρος οὐδὲ χαλκὸς ἀπείργει<sup>6</sup> μὴ φοιτᾶν ἐπὶ δεῖπνον

1 el δέ σε . . παραιτοῦμαι] Bernardakis surmised that beneath the corrupt text lurked a metrical version of what a humane Tantalus might have said. The translation assumes a prose version of a prose explanation that a self-seeking Tantalus might have said, as if Plutarch wrote, e.g.: el δ΄ εἶπε· Σπείρω (Bernardakis) ἴνα τὴν οἰκουμέτην ἀπασαν καταστερέφα, παραιτοῦμαι. See note d on preceding page.

# PHILOSOPHERS AND MEN IN POWER, 778

And yet Epicurus, who places happiness in the deepest quiet, as in a sheltered and landlocked harbour, says that it is not only nobler, but also pleasanter, to confer than to receive benefits.

For chiefest joy doth gracious kindness give.

Surely he was wise who gave the Graces the names Aglaïa (Splendour), Euphrosynê (Gladness), and Thalia (Good-cheer); for the delight and joy are greater and purer for him who does the gracious act. And therefore people are often ashamed to receive benefits, but are always delighted to confer them; and they who make those men good upon whom many depend confer benefits upon many; and, on the contrary, the slanderers, backbiters, and flatterers who constantly corrupt rulers or kings or tyrants, are driven away and punished by everyone, as if they were putting deadly poison, not into a single cup, but into the public fountain which, as they see, everyone uses. Therefore, just as people laugh when the flatterers of Callias are ridiculed in comedy, those flatterers of whom Eupolis says b

> No fire, no, and no weapon, Be it of bronze or of iron, Keeps them from flocking to dinner,

<sup>a</sup> Probably an iambic trimeter. See Kock, Com. Att. Frag. iii. p. 495.

b From the Flatterers, by Eupolis; Kock, Com. Att. Frag. i. p. 303.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> οὐδὲν transposed by Kock metri gratia: γὰρ οὐδὲν.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> εὖ πάσχειν Benseler.
4 γελῶσιν οὖς Wyttenbach: λέγουσιν.
<sup>5</sup> οὐδὲ Meineke: οὖ.

<sup>6</sup> ἀπείργει Meineke: είργει.

κατά τὸν Εὔπολιν τοὺς δ' ᾿Απολλοδώρου τοῦ τυράννου καὶ Φαλάριδος καὶ Διονυσίου φίλους καὶ συνήθεις απετυμπάνιζον, εστρέβλουν και ενεπίμπρασαν, έναγεις έποιούντο καί καταράτους, ώς έκείνων μέν άδικούντων ένα τούτων δέ πολλούς δι' ένος τοῦ ἄργοντος οὕτως οἱ μέν ιδιώταις συνόντες αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους ποιοθσιν ἐαυτοῖς καὶ ἀβλαβεῖς καὶ προσηνεῖς, ὁ δ' ἄρχοντος ήθος Ε άφαιρών μοχθηρόν ή γνώμην έφ' δ δεί συγκατευθύνων τρόπον τινά δημοσία φιλοσοφεί και το κοινόν έπανορθούται, ώ πάντες διοικούνται. τοις ίερεύσιν αίδω και τιμήν αι πόλεις νέμουσιν, ότι τάγαθά παρά των θεών ου μόνον αύτοις και φίλοις καί οίκείοις, άλλα κοινή πασιν αιτούνται τοις πολίταις. καίτοι τους θεούς οἱ ἱερεῖς οὐ ποιοῦσιν ἀγαθῶν δοτήρας, άλλά τοιούτους όντας παρακαλούσι τούς δ' άρχοντας οἱ συνόντες τῶν φιλοσόφων δικαιοτέρους ποιούσι και μετριωτέρους και προθυμοτέρους είς το εδ ποιείν, ώστε και χαίρειν είκος έστι μαλλον.

4. Έμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖ καὶ λυροποιὸς ἄν ήδιον λύραν ἐργάσασθαι καὶ προθυμότερον, μαθὼν ὡς ὁ ταύτην κτησόμενος τὴν λύραν μέλλει τὸ Θηβαίων ἄστυ τειχίζειν ὡς ὁ ᾿Αμφίων, ἢ τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων στάσιν παύειν ἐπάδων καὶ παραμυθούμενος ὡς Θαλῆς\* καὶ τέκτων όμοίως πηδάλιον δημιουργών

<sup>1</sup> καὶ added by Wyttenbach.
<sup>2</sup> & Iunius: ώs.

8 Θαλής] ὁ Θαλής Bernardakis; Θαλήτας Frerichs.

According to the legend, when Amphion played on his

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Cruel tyrants of Cassandreia, Acragas, and Syracuse respectively.

# PHILOSOPHERS AND MEN IN POWER, 778-779

but the friends and intimates of the tyrant Apollodorus, of Phalaris, and of Dionysius a they bastinadoed, tortured, and burned, and made them for ever polluted and accursed, since the former had done harm to one man, but the latter through one, the ruler, to many. So the philosophers who associate with persons in private station make those individuals inoffensive, harmless, and gentle towards themselves, but he who removes evil from the character of a ruler, or directs his mind towards what is right, philosophizes, as it were, in the public interest and corrects the general power by which all are governed. States pay reverence and honour to their priests because ." from the gods, not for themselves. . their families alone. but for all the citizens in common; and yet the priests do not make the gods givers of blessings, for

put for all the crizens in common; and yet the priests do not make the gods givers of blessings, for they are such by nature; the priests merely invoke them. But philosophers who associate with rulers do make them more just, more moderate, and more eager to do good, so that it is very likely that they

are also happier.

4. And I think a lyre-maker would be more willing and eager to make a lyre if he knew that the future owner of that lyre was to build the walls of the city of Thebes, as Amphion did, bor, like Thales, was to put an end to faction among the Lacedaemonians by the music of his charms and his exhortations; and a carpenter likewise in making a tiller would be more lyre, the stones of their own accord formed the walls of Thebes.

Nothing is known of a musician or poet Thales. The musician Thaletas is said to have taught the lawgiver Lycurgus, but we do not hear of his putting an end to

faction at Sparta.

(779) ἡσθῆναι, πυθόμενος ὅτι τοῦτο τὴν Θεμιστοκλέους ναυαρχίδα κυβερνήσει προπολεμοῦσαν τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἢ τὴν Πομπηίου τὰ πειρατικά καταναυμαχοῦντος· τί οὖν οἵει περὶ τοῦ λόγου τὸν φιλόσοφον, διανοού-

Β μενον ώς δ τοῦτον παραλαβών πολιτικός άνηρ καί ήνειωνικός κοινών οφελος έσται δικαιοδοτών. νομοθετών, κολάζων τούς πονηρούς, αύξων τούς ἐπιεικεῖς καὶ ἀναθούς: ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖ καὶ ναυπηνὸς άστεῖος ήδιον αν έργάσασθαι πηδάλιον, πυθόμενος ότι τούτο την 'Αργώ κυβερνήσει την " πάσι μέλουσαν " καὶ τεκτονικός οὐκ αν ούτω κατασκευάσαι ἄροτρον προθύμως ἢ ἄμαξαν, ώς τοὺς άξονας, οίς έμελλε Σόλων τους νόμους έγχαράξειν. καὶ μὴν οἱ λόνοι τῶν Φιλοσόφων, ἐὰν ψυναῖς ήνεμονικών και πολιτικών ανδρών έγγραφώσι βεβαίως και κρατήσωσι, νόμων δύναμιν λαμβάνουσιν ή και Πλάτων είς Σικελίαν επλευσεν, έλπίζων τὰ δόνματα νόμους καὶ ἔρνα ποιήσειν ἐν C τοις Διονυσίου πράγμασιν· άλλ' εδρε Διονύσιον ώσπερ βιβλίον παλίμψηστον ήδη μολυσμών ανά-

ώσπερ βιβλίον παλίμμηστου ήδη μολυσμών ἀνάπλεων και την βαφήν ούκ ἀνιέντα τῆς τυραυνίδος, ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ δευσοποιόν οὖσαν και δυσέκπλυτον· ἀκμαίους<sup>α</sup> δ' ὅντας ἔτι δεῖ τῶν χρηστῶν ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι λόγων.

<sup>1</sup> aν added by Fränkel (or read καν for και or ἐργάσασθαι should be changed to ἐργάσεσθαι, Bernardakis).

<sup>2</sup> akualous Coraes: δρομαίους.

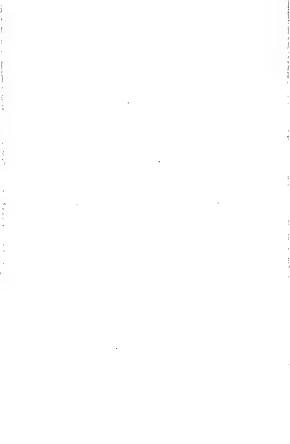
" Homer, Od, xii. 70.

b In his Life of Solon, xxv., Plutarch says that Solon's laws were originally inscribed on revolving wooden tablets (axones) in wooden frames. The axones were set up in the

# PHILOSOPHERS AND MEN IN POWER, 779

pleased if he knew that it would steer the flagship of Themistocles fighting in defence of Hellas, or that of Pompey when he overcame the pirates. What, then, do you imagine the philosopher thinks about his teaching, when he reflects that the statesman or ruler who accepts it will be a public blessing by dispensing justice, making laws, punishing the wicked, and making the orderly and the good to prosper? And I imagine that a clever shipbuilder. too, would take greater pleasure in making a tiller if he knew that it was to steer the Argo, "the concern of all," a and a carpenter would not be so eager to make a plough or a wagon as the axones on which the laws of Solon were to be engraved. And surely the teachings of philosophers, if they are firmly engraved in the souls of rulers and statesmen and control them, acquire the force of laws; and that is why Plato sailed to Sicily, in the hope that his teachings would produce laws and actions in the government of Dionysius; but he found Dionysius, like a book which is erased and written over, already befouled with stains and incapable of losing the dye of his tyranny, since by length of time it had become deeply fixed and hard to wash out. No, it is while men are still at their best that they should accept the worthy teachings.

Royal Stoa. Toward the end of the fifth century, the wooden text having disintegrated and the laws having been modified, a new edition of Solon's laws was inscribed on both sides of a marble wall built in the Royal Stoa and of this a fragment has recently come to light in the Athenian Agora. See J. H. Oliver, Hesperia, iv. 5 ff., whose views are represented in the above statement.



# TO AN UNEDUCATED RULER (AD PRINCIPEM INERUDITUM)



#### INTRODUCTION

The brief essay To an Uneducated Ruler may have formed part of a lecture, or it may, as its traditional title suggests, have been composed as a letter to some person in authority. There is nothing in it to prove either assumption. No striking or unusual precepts or doctrines are here promulgated, but the essay is enlivened by a few interesting tales and, considering its brevity, by a somewhat unusual number of rather elaborate similes. As usual Plutarch depends upon earlier writers for most of his material. The ending is so abrupt as to warrant the belief that the essay, in its present form, is only a fragment.

#### ΠΡΟΣ ΗΓΕΜΟΝΑ ΑΠΑΙΔΕΥΤΟΝ (779)

1. Πλάτωνα Κυρηναΐοι παρεκάλουν νόμους τε γραψάμενον αὐτοῖς ἀπολιπεῖν καὶ διακοσμήσαι τὴν πολιτείαν, δ δὲ παρητήσατο φήσας χαλεπὸν είναι Κυρηναίοις νομοθετείν ούτως εὐτυχοῦσιν

οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτω γαθρον

καὶ τραχύ καὶ δύσαρκτον

ώς ανήρ ἔφυ

εὐπραγίας δοκούσης ἐπιλαμβανόμενος. διὸ τοῖς Ε άρχουσι χαλεπόν έστι σύμβουλον περί άρχης γενέσθαι τὸν γὰρ λόγον ὧσπερ ἄρχοντα παραδέξασθαι φοβοῦνται, μὴ τῆς ἐξουσίας αὐτῶν τάγαθὸν κολούση τῷ καθήκοντι δουλωσάμενος. ού γὰρ ἴσασι τὰ Θεοπόμπου τοῦ Σπαρτιατῶν Βασιλέως, ος πρώτος έν Σπάρτη τοις βασιλεύουσι καταμίξας τους 'Εφόρους, είτ' ονειδιζόμενος υπό της γυναικός, εὶ τοῖς παισὶν ἐλάττονα παραδώσει τήν ἀρχήν ής παρέλαβε, "μείζονα μεν οὖν," εἶπεν, "όσω καὶ βεβαιοτέραν." τὸ γὰρ σφοδρὸν ἀνεὶς

b A quotation from some tragic poet; see Nauck, Trag.

Graec. Frag. p. 617. The five Ephors at Sparta, representing the five local

a That Plato in his extensive travels visited Cyrene is attested by Diogenes Lacrtius, Vit. Phil. iii. 6.

# TO AN UNEDUCATED RULER

 Plato was asked by the Cyrenaeans a to compose a set of laws and leave it for them and to give them a well-ordered government; but he refused, saying that it was difficult to make laws for the Cyrenaeans because they were so prosperous.

For nothing is so haughty

harsh, and ungovernable

by nature as a man,

when he possesses what he regards as prosperity. And that is why it is difficult to give advice to rulers in matters of government, for they are afraid to accept reason as a ruler over them, lest it curtail the advantage of their power by making them slaves to duty. For they are not familiar with the saying of Theopompus, the King of Sparta who first made the Ephors c associates of the Kings; then, when his wife reproached him because he would hand down to his children a less powerful office than that which he had received he said: "Nay, more powerful rather, inasmuch as it is more secure." For by giving up that which was excessive and absolute in

tribes, were in charge of civil law and public order. Whether they were established by Lycurgus or by Theopompus (about 757 n.c. or later) is uncertain. In the sixth and fifth centuries n.c. they seem to have had more power than the kings.

καὶ ἄκρατον αὐτῆς ἄμα τῷ φθόνῳ διέφυγε τὸν F κίνδυνον. καίτοι Θεόπομπος μεν είς ετέρους το της άρχης ώσπερ ρεύματος μεγάλου παροχετευσά-μενος, ὄσον ἄλλοις έδωκεν, αύτοῦ περιέκοψεν· δ δ' ἐκ φιλοσοφίας τῷ ἄρχοντι πάρεδρος καὶ φύλαξ έγκατοικισθείς λόγος, ώσπερ εὐεξίας της δυνάμεως τό ἐπισφαλὲς ἀφαιρῶν, ἀπολείπει τὸ ὑγιαῖνον.

2. 'Αλλά νοῦν οὐκ ἔχοντες οἱ πολλοί τῶν βασιλέων καὶ ἀρχόντων μιμοῦνται τοὺς ἀτέχνους ἀνδριαντοποιούς, οἱ νομίζουσι μενάλους καὶ άδροὺς φαίνεσθαι τους κολοσσούς, αν διαβεβηκότας σφόδρα 780 καὶ διατεταμένους καὶ κεχηνότας πλάσωσι καὶ γὰρ οδτοι βαρύτητι φωνής καὶ βλέμματος τραχύτητι και δυσκολία τρόπων και αμιξία διαίτης όγκον ήγεμονίας και σεμνότητα μιμεισθαι δοκούσιν, οὐδ' ότιοθν των κολοσσικών διαφέροντες ανδριάντων. οί την έξωθεν ήρωικην καί θεοπρεπή μορφην έχοντες έντός είσι γης μεστοί και λίθου και μολίβδου πλήν ότι των μέν ἀνδριάντων ταθτα τὰ βάρη την ορθότητα μόνιμον καὶ ἀκλινη διαφυλάττει, οί Β δ' ἀπαίδευτοι στρατηγοί καὶ ἡγεμόνες ὑπὸ τῆς ἐντὸς ἀγνωμοσύνης πολλάκις σαλεύονται καὶ περιτρέπονται βάσει γάρ οὐ κειμένη πρός ὀρθάς έξουσίαν ἐποικοδομοῦντες ὑψηλὴν συναπονεύουσι: δεί δέ, ωσπερ ό κανών αὐτός, ἀστραβής γενόμενος καὶ ἀδιάστροφος, ούτως ἀπευθύνει τὰ λοιπὰ τῆ πρός αύτον εφαρμογή και παραθέσει συνεξομοιών, παραπλησίως του άρχοντα πρώτον την άρχην κτησάμενον εν έαυτῷ καὶ κατευθύναντα τὴν² ψυχὴν<sup>3</sup> καὶ καταστησάμενον τὸ ἦθος οὕτω συν-

1 συνεξομοιών Stobacus (xl. 98 [100]); συναφομοιών Wyttenbach: συνεφομοιών. 2 Thy added by Reiske.

# TO AN UNEDUCATED RULER, 779-780

it he avoided both the envy and the danger. And vet Theopompus, by diverting to a different body the vast stream of his royal authority, deprived himself of as much as he gave to others. But when philosophical reason derived from philosophy has been established as the ruler's coadjutor and guardian, it removes the hazardous element from his power, as a surgeon removes that which threatens a patient's health and leaves that which is sound.

2. But most kings and rulers are so foolish as to act like unskilful sculptors, who think their colossal figures look large and imposing if they are modelled with their feet far apart, their muscles tense, and their mouths wide open. For these rulers seem by heaviness of voice, harshness of expression, truculence of manner, and unsociability in their way of living to be imitating the dignity and majesty of the princely station, although in fact they are not at all different from colossal statues which have a heroic and godlike form on the outside, but inside are full of clay, stone, and lead,-except that in the case of the statues the weight of those substances keeps them permanently upright without leaning, whereas uneducated generals and rulers are often rocked and capsized by the ignorance within them; for since the foundation upon which they have built up their lofty power is not laid straight, they lean with it and lose their balance. But just as a rule, if it is made rigid and inflexible, makes other things straight when they are fitted to it and laid alongside it, in like manner the sovereign must first gain command of himself, must regulate his own soul and establish his own character, then make his sub-

<sup>3</sup> ψυγὴν Stobaeus and Reiske: ἀρχὴν.

(780) αρμόττειν τὸ ὑπήκοον οὖτε γὰρ πίπτοντός ἐστιν ὀρθοῦν οὖτε διδάσκειν ἀγνοοῦντος οὖτε κοσμεῖν ἀκοσμοῦντος ἢ τάττειν ἀτακτοῦντος ἢ ἄρχειν μὴ C ἀρχομένου ἀλλ' οἱ πολλοὶ κακῶς φρονοῦντες οἴονται πρῶτον ἐν τῷ ἄρχειν ἀγαθὸν εἶναι τὸ μὴ ἄρχεσθαι, καὶ ὅ γε Περσῶν βασιλεὺς πάντας ἡγεῖτο δούλους πλὴν τῆς αὐτοῦ γυναικός, ἦς μάλιστα δεσπότης ὤφειλεν εἶναι.

3. Τίς οὖν ἄρξει τοῦ ἄρχοντος; δ

νόμος δ πάντων βασιλεὺς θνατῶν¹ τε καὶ ἀθανάτων,

ώς ἔφη Πίνδαρος, οὐκ ἐν βιβλίοις ἔξω γεγραμμένος οὐδέ τισι ξύλοις, ἀλλ' ἔμιβυχος ὢν ἐν αὐτῷ λόγος, ἀεὶ συνοικῶν καὶ παραφυλάττων καὶ μηδέποτε τὴν ψυχὴν ἐῶν ἔρημον ἡγεμονίας. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς ἔνα τῶν κατευναστῶν εἶχε πρὸς τοῦτο τεταγμένον, ὤσθ' ἔωθεν εἰσιόντα λέγειν πρὸς αὐτὸν '' ἀνάστα, ῶ βασιλεῦ, καὶ φρόντίζε πραγμάτων, ὧν σε φροντίζειν ὁ μέγας 'Ωρομάσδης ἡθέλησε ''. Τοῦ δὲ πεπαιδευμένου καὶ σωφρονοῦντος ἄρχοντος ἐντός ἐστιν ὁ τοῦτο φθεγγόμενος ἀεὶ καὶ παρακελευόμενος. Πολέμων γὰρ ἔλεγε τὸν ἔρωτα εἶναι '' θεῶν ὑπηρεσίαν εἰς νέων ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ σωτηρίαν'' ἀληθέστερον δ' ἄν τις εἴποι τοὺς ἄρχοντας ὑπηρετεῦν θεῷ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ

θνατῶν Pindar (Bergk-Schroeder, p. 458, no. 169 [151]):
 θνητῶν.
 γεγραμμένος Meziriacus: γεγραμμένοις.
 ἐν αὐτῷ Coraes: ἐαυτῷ or ἐν ἑαυτῷ.

<sup>\*</sup> μέγας `Ωρομάσδης Kaltwasser: μεσορομάσδης; of. Life of Artax. chap. x-ix.

# TO AN UNEDUCATED RULER, 780

jects fit his pattern. For one who is falling cannot hold others up, nor can one who is ignorant teach, nor the uncultivated impart culture, nor the disorderly make order, nor can he rule who is under no rule. But no rule, and indeed the sed to think that everyone was a slave except his own wife, whose master he ought to have been most of all.

3. Who, then, shall rule the ruler? The

Law, the king of all,

as Pindar a says—not law written outside him in books or on wooden tablets or the like, but reason endowed with life within him, always abiding with him and watching over him and never leaving his soul without its leadership. For example, the King of the Persians had one of his chamberlains assigned to the special duty of entering his chamber in the morning and saying to him: "Arise, O King, and consider matters which the great Oromasdes wished you to consider." But the educated and wise ruler has within him the voice which always thus speaks to him and exhorts him. Indeed Polemo said that love was "the service of the gods for the care and preservation of the young"; one might more truly say that rulers serve god for the care and preservation of men, in

b A reference to the original tablets of Solon's laws. See Moralia, 779 в and note b, p. 46 above.

Oromasdes is the Greek form of Ormazd, Auramasda, or Ahura Mazdah, the great god of the Persians.

Bergk-Schroeder, p. 458, no. 169 [151]; Sandys, p. 602,
 no. 169 (L.C.L.). Quoted by Plato, Gorg. 784 B, Laws,
 690 B.

(780) σωτηρίαν,¹ ὅπως ὧν θεὸς δίδωσιν ἀνθρώποις καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν τὰ μὲν νέμωσι τὰ δὲ φυλάττωσιν.

> όρᾶς τὸν ὑψοῦ τόνδ' ἄπειρον αἰθέρα, καὶ γῆν πέριξ ἔχονθ' ὑγραῖς ἐν ἀγκάλαις;

δ μέν καθίησιν άρχὰς σπερμάτων προσηκόντων γῆ δ' ἀναδίδωσιν, αΰξεται δέ τὰ μέν ὅμβροις τὰ δ άνέμοις τὰ δ' ἄστροις ἐπιθαλπόμενα καὶ σελήνη, Ε κοσμεί δ' ήλιος απαντα καὶ πᾶσι τοῦτο δὴ τὸ παρ αύτοῦ φίλτρον έγκεράννυσιν. άλλά τῶν τοιούτων καὶ τηλικούτων ἃ θεοὶ χαρίζονται δώρων καὶ άγαθῶν οὐκ ἔστιν ἀπόλαυσις οὐδὲ χρῆσις ὀρθὴ δίχα νόμου καὶ δίκης καὶ ἄρχοντος. δίκη μὲν οῦν νόμου τέλος έστί, νόμος δ' άρχοντος έργον, άρχων δ' είκων θεοῦ τοῦ πάντα κοσμοῦντος, οὐ Φειδίου δεόμενος πλάττοντος οὐδὲ Πολυκλείτου καὶ Μύρωνος, άλλ' αὐτὸς αύτὸν εἰς ὁμοιότητα θεῷ δι' ἀρετῆς Ε καθιστάς και δημιουργών άγαλμάτων το ήδιστον όφθηναι καὶ θεοπρεπέστατον. οΐον δ' ηλιον έν ούρανώ περικαλλές είδωλον έαυτοῦ καὶ σελήνην ό θεὸς ἐνίδρυσε, τοιοῦτον ἐν πόλεσι μίμημα καὶ φέγγος ἄρχων

όστε θεουδής

εὐδικίας ἀνέχησι,

τουτέστι θεοῦ λόγον ἔχων, διάνοιαν,³ οὐ σκῆπτρον οὐδὲ κεραυνὸν οὐδὲ τρίαιναν, ὡς ἔνιοι πλάττουσιν

3 διάνοιαν] καὶ διάνοιαν Reiske; ἐνδιάθετον Frerichs.

<sup>1</sup> και σωτηρίαν added by Bernardakis. Cf. Thes. and Rom. chap. ii.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> τοιούτων Bernardakis; cf. Stobaeus, xlvi. 99 (101):

#### TO AN UNEDUCATED RULER, 780

order that of the glorious gifts which the gods give to men they may distribute some and safeguard others.

Dost thou behold this lofty, boundless sky

Which holds the earth enwrapped in soft embrace? The sky sends down the beginnings of the appropriate seeds, and the earth causes them to sprout up; some are made to grow by showers and some by winds, and some by the warmth of stars and moon : but it is the sun which adorns all things and mingles in all things what men call the "love charm" which is derived from himself. But these gifts and blessings, so excellent and so great, which the gods bestow cannot be rightly enjoyed nor used without law and justice and a ruler. Now justice is the aim and end of law, but law is the work of the ruler, and the ruler is the image of God who orders all things. Such a ruler needs no Pheidias nor Polycleitus nor Myron to model him, but by his virtue he forms himself in the likeness of God and thus creates a statue most delightful of all to behold and most worthy of divinity. Now just as in the heavens God has established as a most beautiful image of himself the sun and the moon, so in states a ruler

who in God's likeness

Righteous decisions upholds,

that is to say, one who, possessing god's wisdom, establishes, as his likeness and luminary, intelligence in place of sceptre or thunderbolt or trident, with which attributes some rulers represent themselves

b Homer, Od. xix. 109 and 111.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Euripides, unknown drama, Nauck, Trag. Graec. Frag. p. 663. The following line is τοῦτον νόμιζε Ζῆνα, τόνδ' ἡγοῦ Θεόν, "Believe that this is Zeus, consider this thy God." Cicero translates this line in De Natura Deorum, ii. 25. 65.

έαυτούς και γράφουσι τῷ ἀνεφίκτῳ ποιοῦντες ἐπίφθονον τὸ ἀνόητον νεμεσῷ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς τοῖς ἀπομιμουμένοις βροντὰς καὶ κεραυνούς καὶ ἀκτινοβο-

μιμουμένοις βροντάς καὶ κεραυνούς καὶ άκτινοβο781 λίας, τοὺς δὲ τὴν ἀρετὴν ζηλοῦντας αὐτοῦ καὶ προς
τὸ καλὸν καὶ φιλάνθρωπον ἀφομοιοῦντας ἐαυτοὺς
ἢδόμενος αὕξει καὶ μεταδίδωσι τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν
εὐνομίας καὶ δίκης καὶ ἀληθείας καὶ πραότητος
ἄν θειότερον οὐ πῦρ ἐστιν οὐ φῶς οὐχ ἡλίου δρόμος
οὐκ ἀνατολαὶ καὶ δύσεις ἄστρων οὐ τὸ ἀίδιον καὶ
ἀθάνατον. οὐ γὰρ χρόνω ζωῆς ὁ θεὸς εὐδαίμων
ἀλλὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς τῷ ἄρχοντι· τοῦτο γὰρ θεῖόν ἐστι,
καλὸν δ' αὐτῆς καὶ τὸ ἀρχόμενον.

4. 'Ανάξαρχος μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τῷ Κλείτου φόνω δεινοπαθοῦντα παραμυθούμενος 'Αλέξανδρον ἔφη καὶ τῷ Διὶ τὴν Δίκην εἶναι καὶ τὴν Θέμιν' παρεβορος, ἵνα πῶν πραπτόμενον ὑπὸ βασιλέως θεμιτὸν δοκῆ καὶ δίκαιον, οὐκ ὀρθῶς οὐδ' ἀφελίμως τὴν ἐφ' οἰς ῆμαρτε μετάνοιαν αὐτοῦ τῷ πρὸς τὰ διιοια θαρρύνειν ἰώμενος. εἰ δὲ δεῖ ταῦτ' εἰκάζειν, ὁ μὲν Ζεὐς οὐκ ἔχει τὴν Δίκην πάρεδρον, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς Δίκη καὶ Θέμις ἐστὶ καὶ νόμων ὁ πρεσβύτατος καὶ τελειότατος. οἱ δὲ παλαιοὶ οῦτω λέγουσι καὶ γράφουσι καὶ διδάσκουσιν, ὡς ἄνευ Δίκης ἄρχειν μπὸὲ τοῦ Διὸς καλῶς δυναμένου' 'ἡ δὲ γε¹ παρ-

C θένος ἐστὶ '' καθ' 'Ησίοδον ἀδιάφθορος, αἰδοῦς

1 καὶ τῷ Διὶ... τὴν Θέμιν Wyttenbach: κλείτω δὴ... τὴν
τῶν θεῶν.

2 γε] τε Itesiod.

o Just as at Athens the archons had their paredroi who aided them in the performance of some of their functions, so here Justice and Right are called the paredroi of Zeus.

b Hesiod, Works and Days, 256-257 ή δέ τε παρθένος ἐστι Δίκη, Διὸς ἐκγεγανῖα κυδρή τ' αἰδοίη τε θεῶν, οἱ "Ολυμπου ἔχουσυ." "And there is Virgin Justice, the daughter of Zeus, who is

#### TO AN UNEDUCATED RULER, 780-781

in sculpture and painting, thus causing their folly to arouse hostile feelings, because they claim what they cannot attain. For God visits his wrath upon those who imitate his thunders, lightnings, and sunbeams, but with those who emulate his virtue and make themselves like unto his goodness and mercy he is well pleased and therefore causes them to prosper and gives them a share of his own equity, justice, truth, and gentleness, than which nothing is more divine,—nor fire, nor light, nor the course of the sun, nor the risings and settings of the stars, nor eternity felicity, not through

the ruling quality o

excellent also is that part of virtue which submits to rule.

4. Now it is true that Anaxarchus, trying to console Alexander in his agony of mind over his killing of Cleitus, said that the reason why Justice and Right are seated by the side a of Zeus is that men may consider every act of a king as righteous and just; but neither correct nor helpful were the means he took in endeavouring to heal the king's remorse for his sin, by encouraging him to further acts of the same sort. But if a guess about this matter is proper, I should say that Zeus does not have Justice to sit beside him, but is himself Justice and Right and the oldest and most perfect of laws; but the ancients state it in that way in their writings and teachings, to imply that without Justice not even Zeus can rule well. "She is a virgin," according to Hesiod, uncorrupted, dwelling

honoured and reverenced among the gods who dwell on Olympus" (tr. II. G. Evelyn White in L.C.L.).

(781) καὶ σωφροσύνης καὶ ἀφελείας¹ σύνοικος² ὅθεν "αἰδοίους" προσαγορεύουσι τοὺς βασιλεῖς· μάλιστα γὰρ αἰδεῖσθαι προσήκει τοῖς ἤκιστα φοβουμένοις. φοβεῖσθαι δὲ δεῖ τὸν ἄρχοντα τοῦ παθεῖν κακῶς μᾶλλον τὸ ποιῆσαι τοῦτο γὰρ αἴτιόν ἐστιν ἐκείνου καὶ οὖτός ἐστιν ὁ φόβος τοῦ ἄρχοντος φιλάνθρωπος καὶ οὖκ ἀγεννής, ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀρχομένων δεδιέναι μὴ λάθωσι βλαβέντες,

ώς δὲ κύνες περὶ μῆλα δυσωρήσονται ἐν αὐλῆ, θηρὸς ἀκούσαντες κρατερόφρονος,

οὐχ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῶν φυλαττομένων. ὁ δ' Ἐπαμεινώνδας, εἰς ἑορτήν τινα καὶ πότον ἀνειD μένως τῶν Θηβαίων ῥυέντων, μόνος ἐφώδευε τὰ 
ὅπλα καὶ τὰ τείχη, νήφειν λέγων καὶ ἀγρυπνεῖν 
ὡς ἄν ἐξῆ τοῖς ἀλλοις μεθύειν καὶ καθεύδειν. καὶ 
Κάτων ἐν Ἰτύκη τοὺς ἄλλοις ἄπαντας ἀπὸ τῆς 
ἤττης ἐκήρυττε πέμπειν ἐπὶ θάλατταν· καὶ ἐμβιβάσας, εὖπλοιαν εὐξάμενος ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, εἰς οἶκον 
ἐπανελθῶν ἐαυτὸν ἀπέσφαξε· διδάξας ὑπὲρ τίνων δεῖ τὸν ἄρχοντα τῷ φόβῳ χρῆσθαι καὶ τίνων δεῖ 
τὸν ἄρχοντα καταφρονεῖν. Κλέαρχος δ' ὁ Ποντικὸς 
τύραννος εἰς κιβωτὸν ἐνδυόμενος ὡσπερ ὅφις 
Ε ἐκάθευδε. καὶ ᾿Αριστόδημος³ ὁ ᾿Αργεῖος εἰς 
ὑπερῷον οἴκημα θύραν ἔχον ἐπιρρακτήν, ῆς 
ἐπάνω τιθεὶς τὸ κλινίδιον ἐκάθευδε μετὰ τῆς 
ἐταίρας· ἡ δὲ μήτηρ ἔκείνης ὑφείλκε κάτωθεν τὸ 
κλιμάκιον, εθθ' ἡμέρας πάλιν προσετίθει φέρουσα.

' 'Αριστόδημος] 'Αρίστιπος, Life of Aratus, chap. xxv.

<sup>1</sup> ἀφελείας] ἀληθείας some Mss.: ἀφ τίας codex X.ylar dri.
2 σύνοικος Reiske: ἔνοικος.

## TO AN UNEDUCATED RULER, 781

with reverence, self-restraint, and helpfulness; and therefore kings are called "reverend," for it is fitting that those be most revered who have least to fear. But the ruler should have more fear of doing than of suffering evil; for the former is the cause of the latter; and that kind of fear on the part of the ruler is humane and not ignoble to be afraid on behalf of his subjects lest they may without his knowledge suffer harm,

Just as the dogs keep their watch, toiling hard for the flocks in the sheepfold,

When they have heard a ferocious wild beast.<sup>b</sup>

not for their own sake but for the sake of those whom they are guarding. Epameinondas, when all the Thebans crowded to a certain festival and gave themselves up utterly to drink, went alone and patrolled the armouries and the walls, saying that he was keeping sober and awake that the others might be free to be drunk and asleep. And Cato at Utica issued a proclamation to send all the other survivors of the defeat to the seashore; he saw them aboard ship, prayed that they might have a good voyage, then returned home and killed himself; thereby teaching us in whose behalf the ruler ought to feel fear and what the ruler ought to despise. But Clearchus, tyrant of Pontus, used to crawl into a chest like a snake and sleep there, and Aristodemus of Argos would mount to an upper room entered by a trap-door, then put his bed on the door and sleep in it with his mistress; and the girl's mother would take the ladder away from below and set it up again in the morning. How do you

e.g. Homer, Il. iv. 402.
 Homer, Il. x. 183-184.

πῶς οὖτος, οἴεσθε, τὸ θέατρον ἐπεφρίκει καὶ τὸ ἀρχεῖον, τὸ βουλευτήριον, τὸ συμπόσιον, ὁ τὸν θάλαμον ἑαυτῷ δεσμωτήριον πεποιηκώς; τῷ γὰρ ὄντι δεδίασιν οἱ βασιλεῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀρχομένων, οἱ δὲ τύραννοι τοὺς ἀρχομένους. διὸ τῇ δυνάμει τὸ δέος συναύξουσι. πλειόνων γὰρ ἄρχοντες πλείονας

φοβοῦνται.

5. Οὐ γὰρ εἰκὸς οὐδὲ πρέπον, ὥσπερ ἔνιοι φιλόσοφοι λέγουσι, τὸν θεὸν ἐν ὕλη πάντα πασχούση καὶ πράγμασι μυρίας δεχομένοις ανάγκας καὶ τύχας καὶ μεταβολάς ὑπάρχειν ἀναμεμιγμένον· άλλ' ὁ μὲνι ἄνω που περί την ἀεὶ κατά ταὐτά ώσαύτως<sup>\*</sup> φύσιν έχουσαν ίδρυμένος έν βάθροις άγίοις ή φησι Πλάτων, εὐθεία περαίνει κατά φύσιν περιπορευόμενος οΐον δ' ήλιος έν ούρανω μίμημα τὸ περικαλλές αὐτοῦ δι' ἐσόπτρου εἴδωλον άναφαίνεται τοῖς ἐκεῖνον ἐνορᾶν δι' αὐτοῦ δυνατοῖς, ούτω τὸ ἐν πόλεσι φέγγος εὐδικίας καὶ λόγου τοῦ 782 περί αύτον ωσπερ είκονα κατέστησεν, ην οί μακάριοι και σώφρονες εκ φιλοσοφίας απογράφονται πρός το κάλλιστον των πραγμάτων πλάττοντες έαυτούς. ταύτην δ' οὐδὲν ἐμποιεῖ τὴν διάθεσιν η λόγος εκ φιλοσοφίας παραγενόμενος ίνα μη πάσχωμεν το τοῦ ᾿Αλεξάνδρου, ος ἐν Κορίνθω Διονένην θεασάμενος καὶ δι' εὐφυΐαν άγαπήσας καὶ θαυμάσας τὸ φρόνημα καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ ανδρός είπεν "εί μη 'Αλέξανδρος ήμην, Διογένης

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> ὁ μὲν Wyttenbach: ἡμῦν.
 <sup>2</sup> ὡσαντως Reiske: οὐτως.
 <sup>8</sup> εὐθεία Reiske: ǫf. Moralia, 601 n: εὐθεία.
 <sup>4</sup> αὐτὸν Λbresch: αὐτὴν οτ αὐτὸν.

## TO AN UNEDUCATED RULER, 781-782

imagine he must have shuddered at the theatre, the city hall, the senate-chamber, the convivial feast, he who had made his bedchamber a prison cell? For in reality kings fear for their subjects, but tyrants fear their subjects; and therefore they increase their fear as they increase their power, for when they have more subjects they have more men to fear.

5. For it is neither probable nor fitting that god is, as some philosophers say, mingled with matter, which is altogether passive, and with things, which are subject to countless necessities, chances, and changes. On the contrary, somewhere up above in contact with that nature which, in accordance with the same principles, remains always as it is, established, as Plato a says, upon pedestals of holiness, proceeding in accordance with nature in his straight course, he reaches his goal.b And as the sun, his most beautiful image, appears in the heavens as his mirrored likeness to those who are able to see him in it, just so he has established in states the light of justice and of knowledge of himself as an image which the blessed and the wise copy with the help of philosophy, modelling themselves after the most beautiful of all things. But nothing implants this disposition in men except the teachings of philosophy, to keep us from having the same experience as Alexander, who, seeing Diogenes at Corinth, admiring him for his natural gifts, and being astonished by his spirit ar were not Alexander, I

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Phaedrus, 254 B. <sup>b</sup> Cf. Plato, Laws, 716 A.

782) ἂν ἤμην "· ὀλίγου δέων¹ εἰπεῖν, τὴν περὶ αὐτὸν³ εὐτυχίαν καὶ λαμπρότητα καὶ δύναμιν ὡς κώλυσιν Β ἀρετῆς καὶ ἀσχολίαν βαρυνόμενος καὶ ζηλοτυπῶν

Β ἀρετῆς καὶ ἀσχολίαν βαρυνόμενος καὶ ζηλοτυπών τὸν τρίβωνα καὶ τὴν πήραν, ὅτι τούτοις ῆν ἀνίκητος καὶ ἀνάλωτος Διογένης, οὐχ ὡς ἐκεῖνος ὅπλοις καὶ ἴπηοις καὶ σαρίσσαις. ἐξῆν οὖν φιλοσοφοῦντα καὶ τῆ διαθέσει γίγνεσθαι Διογένην καὶ τῆ τύχη μένειν ᾿Αλέξανδρον, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο γενέσθαι Διογένην μάλλον, ὅτι ἢν ᾿Αλέξανδρος, ὡς πρὸς τύχην μεγάλην πολὶ πνεῦμα καὶ σάλον ἔχουσαν ἔρματος πολλοῦ καὶ κυβερνήτου μεγάλου δεόμενον. ὅ. Ἐν μὲν γὰρ τοῖς ἀσθενέσι καὶ ταπεινοῖς καὶ

ίδιώταις τῷ ἀδυνάτῳ μιγνύμενον τὸ ἀνόητον εἰς τὸ ἀναμάρτητον τελευτῷ, ὅσπερ ἐν ὀνείρασι φαύλοις τις ἀνία' τὴν ψυχὴν διαταράττει συν- εξαναστήναι ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις μὴ δυναμένην ἡ δ' ἔξουσία παραλαβοῦσα τὴν κακίαν νεῦρα τοῖς πάθεσι προστίθησι· καὶ τὸ τοῦ Διονυσίου ἀληθές ἐστιν ἔφη γὰρ ἀπολαύειν μάλιστα τῆς ἀρχῆς, ὅταν ταχέως ἃ βούλεται ποιῆ, μέγας οὖν ὁ κίνδυνος βούλεσθαι ἃ μὴ δεῖ τὸν ἃ βούλεται ποιεῖν δυνάμενον·

αὐτίκ' ἔπειτά γε μῦθος ἔην, τετέλεστο δὲ ἔργον. δξὺν ἡ κακία διὰ τῆς ἐξουσίας δρόμον ἔχουσα πᾶν πάθος ἐξωθεῖ, ποιοῦσα τὴν ὀργὴν φόνον τὸν ἔρωτα μοιχείαν τὴν πλεονεξίαν δήμευσιν.

¹ δέων] δέω Madvig; δεῖν Coraes; δέον Frerichs.

αύτον Duebner: αύτον.
 μιγνύμενον] δεδεμένον Stobaeus, xlvi. 100 (102).

6 èv Stobaeus.

after avi; avia rois natteri Stobacus.

## TO AN UNEDUCATED RULER, 782

which he almost said that he was weighed down by his good fortune, glory, and power which kept him from virtue and left him no leisure, and that he envied the cynic's cloak and wallet because Diogenes was invincible and secure against capture by means of these, not, as he was himself, by means of arms, horses, and pikes. So by being a philosopher he was able to become Diogenes in disposition and yet to remain Alexander in outward fortunes, and to become all the more Diogenes because he was Alexander, since for his great ship of fortune, tossed by high winds and surging sea, he needed heavy ballast and a great pilot.

6. For in weak and lowly private persons folly is combined with lack of power and, therefore, results in no wrongdoing, just as in bad dreams a feeling of distress disturbs the spirit, and it cannot rouse itself in accordance with its desires; but power when wickedness is added to it brings increased vigour to the passions. For the saying of Dionysius is true; in enjoyed his power most when the whole of the property of the pro

may wish what he ought not to do:

Straightway then was the word, and the deed was forthwith accomplished,<sup>6</sup>

Wickedness, when by reason of power it possesses rapid speed, forces every passion to emerge, making of anger murder, of love adultery, of covetousness confiscation.

IIomer, Il. xix. 242.

νεῦρα τοῖς Stobaeus: ἀνιάτοις.

(782) αὐτίκ' ἔπειθ' ἄμα μῦθος ἔην,

καὶ ἀπόλωλεν ὁ προσκρούσας ὑπόνοια, καὶ τέθνη-D κεν ὁ διαβληθείς. ἀλλ' ὤσπερ οἱ φυσικοὶ λέγουσι τὴν ἀστραπὴν τῆς βροντῆς ὑστέραν μὲν ἐκπίπτειν ὡς αἷμα τραύματος, προτέραν δὲ φαίνεσθαι, τὸν μὲν ψόφον ἐκδεχομένης τῆς ἀκοῆς τῷ δὲ φωτὶ τῆς ὄψεως ἀπαντώσης οὐτως ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς φθάνουσιν αἱ κολάσεις τὸς κατηγορίας καὶ προεκπίπτουσιν αἱ καταδίκαι τῶν ἀποδείξεων.

> εἴκει¹ γὰρ ἤδη θυμός οὐδ'² ἔτ' ἀντέχει, θινῶδες ὡς ἄγκιστρον ἀγκύρας σάλῳ,³

αν μη βάρος έχων δ λογισμός ἐπιθλίβη καὶ πιέζη την ἐξουσίαν, μιμουμένου τον ήλιον τοῦ ἀρχοντος, Ε ος σταν τόμωμα λάβη μέγιστον, ἐξαρθεἰς ἐν τοῖς βορείοις, ἐλάχιστα κινεῖται, τῷ σχολαιοτέρῳ τὸν δρόμον εἰς ἀσφαλὲς καθιστάμενος.

΄ Τ΄. Οὐδὲ γὰρ λαθεῖν οἴόν τε τὰς κακίας ἐν ταῖς ἐξουσίαις ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν ἐπιλητικούς, ἄν ἐν ὑψει τινὶ γένωνται καὶ περιενεχθῶσιν, ἴλιγγος ἴσχει καὶ σάλος, ἐξελέγχων τὸ πάθος αὐτῶν, τοὺς δ' ἀπαιδεύτους καὶ ἀμαθεῖς ἡ τύχη μικρὸν ἐκκουφίσασα πλούτοις τισὶν ἡ δόξαις ἡ ἀρχαῖς μετεώρους γενομέγους εὐθὺς ἐπιδείκνυσι πίπτοντας μᾶλλον δ', ιὅστερ τῶν κενῶν ἀγγείων οὐκ ὰν διαγνοίης τὸ ἀκέραιον καὶ πεπονηκός, ἀλλ' ὅταν ἐγχέης, F φαίνεται τὸ ῥέον οῦτας αἱ σαθραὶ ψυχαὶ τὰς ἐξουσίας μὴ στέγουσαι ῥέουσιν ἔξω ταῖς ἐπιθυμίας, ταῖς ἀργαῖς, ταῖς ἀλαζογείαις, ταῖς ἀπειροκαλίαις,

εἴκει F. G. Schmidt; of. Moralia, 446 Λ: ἐκεῖ.
 οὐδ' Moralia, 446 Λ: οὐκ.
 σάλω ibid.: σάλον (σάλων V<sup>8</sup>).

## TO AN UNEDUCATED RULER, 782

Straightway then was the word,

and the offender is done away with; suspicion arises, the man who is slandered is put to death. But as the physicists say that the lightning breaks forth later than the thunder, as the flowing of blood is later than the wound, but is seen sooner, since the hearing waits for the sound, whereas the sight goes to meet the light; so in governments punishments come before the accusations and convictions are pronounced before the proofs are given.

For now the spirit yields and holds no longer firm, As yields the anchor's fluke in sand when waves are high,

unless the weight of reason presses upon power and holds it down, and the ruler imitates the sun, which, when it mounts up in the northern sky and reaches its greatest altitude, has the least motion, thus by greater slowness ensuring the safety of its course.

7. Nor is it possible in positions of power for vices to be concealed. Epileptics, if they go up to a high place and move about, grow dizzy and reel, which makes their disease evident, and just so Fortune by such things as riches, reputations, or offices exalts uneducated and uncultured men a little and then, as soon as they have risen high, gives them a conspicuous fall; or, to use a better simile, just as in a number of vessels you could not tell which is whole and which is defective, but when you pour liquid into them the leak appears, just so corrupt souls cannot contain power, but leak out in acts of desire, anger, imposture, and bad taste. But what is the use of

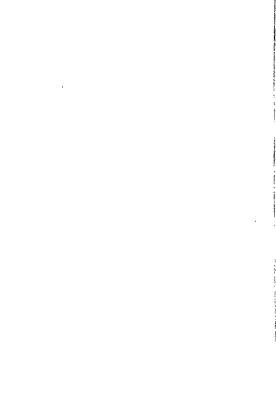
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> From a work of an unknown tragic poet; see Nauck, Trag. Graec. Frag. p. 911, no. 379; cf. Moralia, 446 A.

(182) καίτοι τί δεῖ ταῦτα λέγειν, ὅπου καὶ τὰ σμικρότατα τῶν ἐλλειμμάτων περὶ τοὺς ἐπιφανεῖς καὶ ἐνδόξους συκοφαντεῖται; Κίμωνος ἢν ὁ οἶνος διαβολή, Σκιπίωνος ὁ ὕπνος, Λεύκολλος ἐπὶ τῷ δειπνεῖν πολυτελέστερον ἤκουε κακῶς \* \* \*

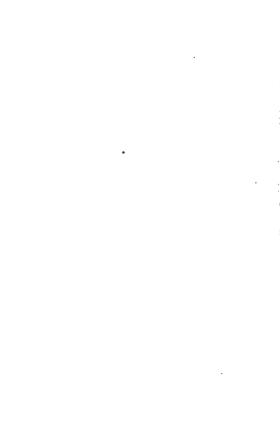
1 καίτοι Reiske: καὶ.

## TO AN UNEDUCATED RULER, 782

saying these things, when even the slightest short-comings in men of conspicuous reputation are made the subject of calumny? Too much wine caused slander against Cimon, too much sleep against Scipio, Lucullus was ill spoken of because his dinners were too expensive...



# WHETHER AN OLD MAN SHOULD ENGAGE IN PUBLIC AFFAIRS (AN SENI RESPUBLICA GERENDA SIT)



## INTRODUCTION

EUPHANES, to whom this essay is addressed, is known from no other source. That he and Plutarch were aged men when the essay was written appears from the opening sentences (see also Chapter 17, towards the end, 792 F). He was evidently a man of some distinction at Athens, where he held important offices (Chapter 20, 794 B). It is not unlikely that he may have asked Plutarch's advice about retiring from public life and that this essay is in reply to his appeal, but there is no definite statement to that effect. Cicero's Cato Maior or De Senecute differs from this in not being limited to the discussion of old age in its relation to public activities, but the two essays have much in common and may well be read in connexion with each other.

#### ΕΙ ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΩΙ ΠΟΛΙΤΕΥΤΕΟΝ

783

Β 1. "Ότι μέν, ὧ Εὔφανες, ἐπαινέτης ὧν Πινδάρου πολλάκις ἔχεις διὰ στόματος ὧς εἰρημένον εῷ καὶ πιθανῶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ

τιθεμένων άγώνων πρόφασις άρεταν ές¹ αἰπὸν ἔβαλε σκότον,

· οὐκ ἀγνοοῦμεν. ἐπειδη δὲ πλείστας αἱ πρὸς τοὺς πολιτικοὺς ἀγῶνας ἀποκυήσεις καὶ μαλακίαι προφάσεις ἔχουσαι τελευταίαν ὥσπερ τὴν '΄ ἀφ΄ ἱερᾶς '΄ ἐπάςνουσιν ἡμῖν τὸ γῆρας, καὶ μάλιστα δὴ τούτα τὸ φιλότιμον ἀμβλύνειν καὶ δυσωπεῖν δοκοῦσαι πείθουσιν εἶναί τινα πρέπουσαν οὐκ ἀθλητικῆς μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ πολιτικῆς περιόδου κατάλυσιν. Ο οιριαι δεῖν ἃ πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν ἐκάστοτε λογίζομαι καὶ προς σὲ διελθεῖν περὶ τῆς πρεσβυτικῆς πολιτείας. ὅπως μηδέτερος ἀπολείψει τὴν μακρὰν συνοδίαν μέχρι δεῦρο κοινῆ προερχομένην μηδὲ τὸν πολιτικον βίον ὥσπερ ἡλικιώτην καὶ συνήθη φίλον

1 de Pindar: els.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Pindar, ed. Bergk-Schroeder, p. 475, no. 228 (252).
<sup>b</sup> In one form of the game of draughts the "pieces" or men "stood on lines, of which there were five for each of the two players. One of these, perhaps the middle one, was 76

# WHETHER AN OLD MAN SHOULD ENGAGE IN PUBLIC AFFAIRS

1. We are well aware, Euphanes, that you, who are an outspoken admirer of Pindar, often repeat, as well and convincingly expressed, these lines of his,

When contests are before us, an excuse Casts down our manhood into abysmal gloom.

But inasmuch as our shrinking from the contests of political life and our various infirmities furnish innumerable excuses and offer us finally, like "the move from the sacred line "b in draughts, old age; and since it is more especially because of this last that these excuses seem to blunt and baffle our ambition and begin to convince us that there is a fitting limit of age, not only to the athlete's career, but to the statesman's as well, I therefore think it my duty to discuss with you the thoughts which I am continually going over in my own mind concerning the activity of old men in public affairs, that neither of us shall desert the long companionship in the journey which we have thus far made together, and neither shall renounce public life, which is, as it were, a familiar friend of our own

called the "sacred line." The expression as here used seems to be about equivalent to "playing the highest trump."

(783) ἀπορρίψας μεταβαλεῖται' πρὸς ἄλλον ἀσυνήθη καὶ χρόνον οὐκ ἔχοντα συνήθη γενέσθαι καὶ οἰκεῖον, ἀλλ' ἐμμενοῦμεν οῖς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς προειλόμεθα, ταὐτό τοῦ ξῆν καὶ τοῦ καλῶς ξῆν ποιησάμενοι πέρας- εἴ γε δη μὴ μέλλοιμεν ἐν βραχεῖ τῷ λειπομένω τὸν πολὺν ἐλέγχειν χρόνον, ὡς ἐπ' οὐδενὶ καλῷ μάτην

άνηλωμένον.

Οὐ γὰρ ἡ τυραννίς, ὥς τις εἶπε Διονυσίω, καλὸν ἐντάφιον ἀλλ' ἐκείνω γε τὴν μοναρχίαν μετὰ τῆς ἀδικίας τό γε μὴ παύσασθαι συμφορὰν τελεωτέραν ἐποίησε. καὶ καλῶς³ Διογένης ὕστερον ἐν Κορίνθω τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ θεασάμενος ἱδιώτην ἐκ τυράννου γεγενημένον '' ὡς ἀναξίως,'' ἔφη, ''Διονύσιε, σεαυτοῦ πράττεις· οὐ γὰρ ἐνταῦθά σε μεθ' ἡμῶν ἔδει ζῆν ἐλευθέρως, καὶ ἀδεῶς, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖ τοῖς τυραννείοις ἐγκατωμκοδομημώτον ὤσπερ ὁ πατὴρ ἄχρι γήρως ἐγκαταβιῶσαι.'' πολιτεία δὲ δημοκρατική καὶ νόμιμος ἀνδρὸς εἰθισμένου παρέχειν αὐτὸν οὐχ ῆττον ἀρχόμενον Ε ὡφελίμως ἡ ἄρχοντα καλὸν ἐντάφιον ὡς ἄληθῶς τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ βίου δόξαν τῷ θανάτω προστίθησι τοῦτο γὰρ

έσχατον δύεται κατά γας

ως φησι Σιμωνίδης, πλην ων προαποθνήσκει τὸ φιλάνθρωπον καὶ φιλόκαλον καὶ προαπουδῷ τῆς τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐπιθυμίας ὁ τῶν καλῶν ζῆλος, ὡς τὰ πρακτικὰ μέρη καὶ θεῖα τῆς ψυχῆς ἐξιτηλότερα τῶν παθητικῶν καὶ σωματικῶν ἐχούσης· ὅπερ²

 <sup>1</sup> μεταβαλείται Duebner: μεταβάληται.
 2 καλώς Emperius: καθώς.
 3 ὅπερὶ διόπερ Wyttenbach.

## OLD MEN IN PUBLIC AFFAIRS, 783

years, only to change and adopt another which is unfamiliar and for becoming familiar with which and making it our own time does not suffice, but that we shall abide by the choice which we made in the beginning when we fixed the same end and aim for life as for honourable life—unless indeed we were in the short time remaining to us to prove that the long time we have lived was spent in vain and for

no honourable purpose.

For the fact is that tyranny, as someone said to Dionysius, is not an honourable winding-sheet a; no, and in his case its continuance made his unjust monarchy a more complete misfortune. at a later time, at Corinth, when Diogenes saw the son of Dionysius no longer a tyrant but a private citizen, he very aptly said, "How unworthy of yourself, Dionysius, your conduct is! For you ought not to be living here with us in freedom and without fear, but you should pass your life to old age over yonder walled up in the royal palace, as your father did." But a democratic and legal government, by a man who has accustomed himself to be ruled for the public good no less than to rule, gives to his death the fair fame won in life as in very truth an honourable winding-sheet; for this, as Simonides b says,

last of all descends below the ground,

except in the case of those whose love of mankind and of honour dies first, and whose zeal for what is noble fails before their desire for material necessities, as if the active and divine qualities of the soul were less enduring than the passive and physical. And

Gf. Isocrates, vi. 125.
 Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Graec. iii. p. 417, no. 63 (104).

οὐδὲ λέγειν καλὸν οὐδ' ἀποδέχεσθαι τῶν λεγόντων, Γ ώς κερδαίνοντες μόνον οὐ κοπιῶμεν άλλά καὶ τὸ τοῦ Θουκυδίδου παράγειν ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον, μὴ τὸ φιλότιμον αγήρων μόνον ήγουμένους, αλλά μαλλον τὸ κοινωνικὸν καὶ πολιτικόν, ὁ καὶ μύρμηξιν άχρι τέλους παραμένει καὶ μελίτταις οὐδείς γάρ πώποτ" είδεν ύπο γήρως κηφήνα γενομένην μέλιτταν, ωσπερ ένιοι τούς πολιτικούς άξιοθσιν, όταν παρακμάσωσιν, οἴκοι σιτουμένους καθῆσθαι καὶ ἀποκεῖσθαι, καθάπερ ἰῷ σίδηρον ὑπ' ἀργίας την πρακτικήν άρετην σβεννυμένην περιορώντας. 784 ο γάρ Κάτων έλεγεν, ότι πολλάς ίδίας έχοντι τώ γήρα κήρας οὐ δεῖ τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς κακίας ἐκόντας έπάγειν αισχύνην πολλών δε κακιών οὐδεμιᾶς ήττον ἀπραξία καὶ δειλία καὶ μαλακία καταισχύνουσιν άνδρα πρεσβύτην, έκ πολιτικών άρχείων καταδυόμενον είς οἰκουρίαν γυναικών η κατ' άγρον ἐφορῶντα καλαμητρίδας καὶ θεριστάς.

ό δ' Οἰδίπους ποῦ καὶ τὰ κλείν' αἰνίγματα;

Τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐν γήρα πολιτείας ἄρχεσθαι καὶ μὴ πρότερον, ὤσπερ Ἐπιμενίδην λέγουσι κατακοιμηθύτα νεανίαν ἐξεγρέσθαι γέροντα μετὰ πεντήκοντα

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> ἀγήρων Thucydides, ii. 44. 4: ἀγήρω.
 <sup>2</sup> πώποτε from Stobaeus, xlv. 20.
 <sup>3</sup> είδεν ibid.: οίδεν.

<sup>4</sup> καλαμητρίδας Coraes: καλαμητρίας.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Thucydides, ii. 44. 4. Pericles, in his great oration over the Athenians who fell in war, says "The love of honour alone never grows old, and in the useless time of old age 80

## OLD MEN IN PUBLIC AFFAIRS, 783-784

it is not right to say, or to accept when said by others, that the only time when we do not grow weary is when we are making money. On the contrary, we ought even to emend the saying of Thucydides a and believe, not only that "the love of honour never grows old," but that the same is even truer of the spirit of service to the community and the State, which persists to the end even in ants and bees. For no one ever saw a bee that had on account of age become a drone, as some people claim that public men, when they have passed their prime, should sit down in retirement at home and be fed, allowing their worth in action to be extinguished by idleness as iron is destroyed by rust. Cato, for example, used to say that we ought not voluntarily to add to the many evils of its own which belong to old age the disgrace that comes from baseness. And of the many forms of baseness none disgraces an aged man more than idleness, cowardice, and slackness, when he retires from public offices to the domesticity befitting women or to the country where he oversees the harvesters and the women who work as gleaners.

But Oedipus, where is he and his riddles famed?

For as to beginning public life in old age and not before (as they say that Epimenides slept while a youth and awoke as an aged man after fifty years),

the greatest pleasure is not, as some say, in gaining money, but in being honoured."

 See Life of Cato the Elder, ix. 10.
 Euripides, Phoen. 1688. This line is spoken by Antigone to her blind father Oedipus. Plutarch seems to imply that the old man who enters political life without experience is no better off than was Oedipus, in spite of his famous solution of the riddle of the sphinx, when exposed to the vicissitudes of exile.

Β έτη· είτα τὴν¹ οὕτω μακράν καὶ συμβεβιωκυῖαν² (784) ήσυχίαν ἀποθέμενον ἐμβαλεῖν ἐαυτὸν εἰς ἀγῶνας καὶ ἀσχολίας, ἀήθη καὶ ἀγύμναστον ὅντα καὶ μήτε πράγμασιν ένωμιληκότα πολιτικοῖς μήτ' άνθρώποις, ἴσως ἂν αἰτιωμένω τινὶ παράσχοι τὸ τῆς Πυθίας είπειν " ὄψ' ήλθες " ἀρχὴν καὶ δημαγωγίαν διζήμενος, καὶ παρ' ώραν στρατηγίου κόπτεις θύραν, ώσπερ τις απεχνότερος ών νύκτωρ ἐπίκωμος άφιγμένος, η ξένος οὐ τόπον οὐδὲ χώραν άλλα βίον, οδ μή πεπείρασαι, μεταλλάττων. το γάρ " πόλις ἄνδρα διδάσκει" κατὰ Σιμωνίδην άληθές έστιν ἐπὶ τῶν ἔτι χρόνον ἐχόντων μεταδιδαχθῆναι καὶ μεταμαθεῖν μάθημα, διὰ πολλῶν ἀγώνων καὶ C πραγμάτων μόλις έκπονούμενον, άνπερ έν καιρώ φύσεως επιλάβηται καὶ πόνον ενεγκεῖν καὶ δυσημερίαν εὐκόλως δυναμένης. ταῦτα δόξει τις μή κακώς λέγεσθαι πρός του άρχόμενου ἐν γήρα πολιπείας.

2. Καίτοι τοὐναντίον ὁρῶμεν ὑπὸ τῶν νοῦν ἐχόντων τὰ μειράκια καὶ τοὺς νέους ἀποτρεπομένους τοῦ τὰ κοινὰ πράττειν καὶ μαρτυροῦσω οἱ νόμοι διὰ τοῦ κήρυκος ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις οῦκ ᾿Αλκιβιάδας οὐδὲ Πυθέας ἀνιστάντες ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα πρώτους, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ὑπὲρ πεντήκοντ' ἔτη γεγονό-D τας, λέγεω καὶ συμβουλεύεω παρακαλοῦντες· οὐ γὰρ τοιούτους ἀἡθεια τόλμης καὶ τριβῆς ἔνδεια

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> εἶτα τὴν Bernardakis: οὖτ' ἄν.
 <sup>2</sup> συμβεβιωκυῖαν Reiske: συμβεβηκυῖαν.
 <sup>3</sup> ὄψ' Haupt: ὀψέ μ' (οr ὄψιμ'?).

## OLD MEN IN PUBLIC AFFAIRS, 784

and then, after easting off such a long-familiar state of repose, throwing oneself into strife and timeabsorbing affairs when one is unaccustomed to them and without practice and is conversant neither with public affairs nor with public men; that might give a fault-finder a chance to quote the Pythia and say, "Too late you have come" seeking for office and public leadership, and you are knocking unseasonably at the door of the practorium, like some ignorant man who comes by night in festive condition or a stranger exchanging, not your place of residence or your country, but your mode of life for one in which you have had no experience. For the saying of Simonides, "the State teaches a man," a is true for those who still have time to unlearn what they have been taught and to learn a new subject which can hardly be acquired through many struggles and labours, even if it encounters at the proper time a nature capable of bearing toil and misery with ease. Such are the remarks which one may believe are fittingly addressed to a man who begins public life in his old age.

2. And yet, on the other hand, we see that the mere lads and young men are turned away from public affairs by those who are wise; and the laws which are proclaimed by the heralds in the assemblies bear witness to this, when they call up first to the platform, not the young men like Alcibiades and Pytheas, but men over fifty years of age, and invite them to speak and offer advice. For such men are not incited by lack of the habit of daring or by want of practice

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Graec. iii. p. 418, no. 67 (109).

<sup>4</sup> τοιούτους (οr τοιούτον) Babbitt: τοσούτον.

(784) καλεί προς τροπαίου κατ άντιστασιωτών. δ δέ Κάτων μετ' ὀγδοήκοντ' ἔτη δίκην ἀπολογούμενος ἔφη χαλεπὸν εἶναι βεβιωκότα μετ' ἄλλων ἐν ἄλλοις άπολονεῖσθαι. Καίσαρος δέ τοῦ καταλύσαντος 'Αντώνιον οὔτι μικρῷ βασιλικώτερα καὶ δημωφελέστερα γενέσθαι πολιτεύματα πρός τῆ τελευτῆ πάντες δμολογούσιν αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς νέους ἔθεσι καὶ νόμοις αὐστηρῶς σωφρονίζων, ὡς ἐθορύβησαν, " ἀκούσατ'," εἶπε, " νέοι γέροντος οὖ νέου γέροντες Ε ήκουον." ή δὲ Περικλέους πολιτεία τὸ μέγιστον έν γήρα κράτος έσχεν, ότε καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἄρασθαι τους 'Αθηναίους έπεισε και προθυμουμένων ου κατά καιρόν μάχεσθαι πρός έξακισμυρίους όπλίτας, ένέστη καὶ διεκώλυσε, μονονού τὰ ὅπλα τοῦ δήμου καὶ τὰς κλεῖς τῶν πυλῶν ἀποσφραγισάμενος. άλλὰ μὴν ἄ γε Ξενοφῶν περὶ ᾿Αγησιλάου γέγραφεν, αὐτοῖς ὀνόμασιν ἄξιόν ἐστι παραθέσθαι: ΄΄ ποίας γάρ," φησί, "νεότητος οὐ κρείττον τὸ ἐκείνου γήρας εφάνη; τις μεν γὰρ τοῦς εχθροῖς ἀκμάζων οὕτω φοβερὸς ἦν, ὡς ᾿Αγησίλαος τὸ μήκιστον τοῦ αἰῶνος ἔχων; τίνος δ᾽ ἐκποδών γενομένου μᾶλλον ησθησαν οί πολέμιοι η 'Αγησιλάου, καίπερ γηραιοῦ

F τελευτήσαντος; τίς δὲ συμμάχοις θάρσος παρέσχεν η 'Αγησίλαος, καίπερ ήδη πρός τῷ τέρματι τοῦ βίου ὤν; τίνα δὲ νέον οἱ φίλοι πλέον ἐπόθησαν ἢ ᾿Αγησίλαον γηραιὸν ἀποθανόντα; ΄΄

3. Είτ' ἐκείνους μὲν τηλικαθτα πράττειν ό χρόνος οὐκ ἐκώλυεν, ἡμεῖς δ' οἱ νῦν τρυφῶντες ἐν

2 πρός τροπαίον Babbitt: προτρόπαιον.

<sup>1</sup> καλεῖ Babbitt: καὶ.

<sup>3</sup> κατ' αντιστασιωτών Capps; κατ' ανταγωνιστών Babbitt: έκάστω στρατιωτών.

# OLD MEN IN PUBLIC AFFAIRS, 784

to try to score a victory over their pelitical opportunits. And Cato, when after eighty year- in we delicited and in a law-suit, said it was difficult when he had lived with one generation to defend himself before another. In the case of the Caesar a who defeated Antony, all agree that his political acts towards the end of his life became much more kingly and more useful to the people. And he himself, when the young men made a disturbance as he was rebuking them severely for their manners and customs, said, "Listen, young men, to an old man to whom old men listened when he was young." And the government of Pericles gained its greatest power in his old age, which was the time when he persuaded the Athenians to engage in the war; and when they were eager to fight at an unfavourable time against sixty thousand heavyarmed men, he interposed and prevented it; indeed he almost scaled up the arms of the people and the keys of the gates. But what Xenophon has written about Agesilaüs b certainly deserves to be quoted word for word: "For what youth," he says, "did not his old age manifestly surpass? For who in the prime of life was so terrible to his enemies as Agesilaüs at the extreme of old age? At whose removal were the enemy more pleased than at that of Agesilaüs, although his end came when he was aged? Who inspired more courage in his allies than Agesilaüs, although he was already near the limit of life? And what young man was more missed by his friends than Agesilaus, who was aged when he died?"

Time, then, did not prevent those men from doing such great things; and shall we of the present

a i.e. Augustus.

πολιτείαις, μή τυραννίδα μή πόλεμόν τινα μή πολιορκίαν έχούσαις, ἀπολέμους δ' ἀμίλλας καὶ φιλοτιμίας νόμω τὰ πολλὰ καὶ λόγω μετὰ δίκης 785 περαινομένας ἀποδειλιῶμεν; οὐ μόνον στρατηγῶν τῶν τότε καὶ δημαγωγῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ποιητῶν και σοφιστῶν καὶ ὑποκριτῶν ὁμολογοῦντες εἶναι κακίους: εἴγε Σιμωνίδης μὲν ἐν γήρα χοροῖς ἐνίκα, ὡςι¹ τοὐπίγραμμα δηλοῖ τοῖς τελευταίοις ἔπεσιν

άμφὶ διδασκαλίη δὲ Σιμωνίδη ἔσπετο κῦδος ὀνδωκονταέτει παιδὶ Λεωπρέπεος.

Σοφοκλής δε λέγεται μεν ύπο παίδων παρανοίας δίκην φεύγων ἀναγνῶναι τὴν ἐν Οἰδίποδι τῷ ἐπὶ Κολωνῷ πάροδον, ἢ ἐστιν ἀρχὴ

εδίππου, ξένε, τάσδε χώρας ἴκου τὰ κράτιστα γᾶς ἔπαυλα, τὸν ἀργήτα Κολωνόν, ἔνθ' ἀ' λίγεια μινύρεται θαμίζουσα μάλιστ' ἀηδὼν χλωραῖς ὑπὸ βάσσαις.

Β θαυμαστοῦ δὲ τοῦ μέλους φανέντος, ὥσπερ ἐκ θεάτρου τοῦ δικαστηρίου προπεμφθῆναι μετὰ κρότου καὶ βοῆς τῶν παρόντων. τουτὶ δ' ὁμολογουμένως Σοφοκλέους ἐστὶ τοὐπιγραμμάτιον

ώδην 'Ηροδότω τεθξεν Σοφοκλης ετέων ων πέντ' επί πεντήκοντα.

½ ß Bernardakis: καὶ.
 παίδων Xylander: πολλῶν.
 Κολωνῷ Coraes: Κολωνοῦ.
 ἔνθ᾽ ἀ: ἔνθα.

## OLD MEN IN PUBLIC AFFAIRS, 784-785

day, who live in luxury in states that are free from tyranny or any war or siege, be such cowards as to shirk unwarlike contests and rivalries which are for the most part terminated justly by law and argument in accordance with justice, confessing that we are inferior, not only to the generals and public men of those days, but to the poets, teachers, and actors as well? Yes, if Simonides in his old age won prizes with his choruses, as the inscription in its last lines declares:

But for his skill with the chorus great glory Simonides followed,
Octogenerian child sprung from Leoprepes' seed.

And it is said that Sophocles, when defending himself against the charge of dementia brought by his sons, or and aloud the entrance song of the chorus in the Oedipus at Colonus, which begins o:

Of this region famed for horses Thou last, stranger, reached the fairest Dwellings in the land, Bright Colonus where the sweet-voiced Nightingale most loves to warble In the verdant groves;

and the song aroused such admiration that he was escorted from the court as if from the theatre, with the applause and shouts of those present. And this little epigram of Sophocles corroborates the tale:

Song for Herodotus Sophocles made when the years of his age were
Five in addition to fifty.<sup>d</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Graec. iii. p. 496, no. 147 (203).

b This story, though repeated by several ancient writers, deserves no credit.

Sophocles, Oed. Col. 668-673.

d Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Graec. ii. p. 245, no. 5.

(785) Φιλήμονα δε τον κωμικόν καὶ "Αλεξιν έπὶ τῆς σκηνής άγωνιζομένους καὶ στεφανουμένους ὁ θάνατος κατέλαβε. Πῶλον δὲ τὸν τραγωδὸν Έρατοσθένης και Φιλόχορος ιστορούσιν έβδομή-Ο κοντ' έτη γεγενημένον οκτώ τραγωδίας έν τέτ-

ταρσιν ήμέραις διανωνίσασθαι μικρόν έμπροσθεν

της τελευτης. 4. Αρ' οὖν οὐκ αἰσγρόν ἐστι τῶν ἀπὸ σκηνῆς γερόντων τους από τοῦ βήματος αγεννεστέρους δρασθαι, καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐξισταμένους άγώνων αποτίθεσθαι το πολιτικόν πρόσωπον, οὐκ οίδ' όποιον αντιμεταλαμβάνοντας: και νάρ τὸ της γεωργίας έκ βασιλικού ταπεινόν όπου γάρ ό Δημοσθένης φησίν ανάξια πάσχειν την Πάραλον, ίεραν ούσαν τριήρη, ξύλα και χάρακας και βοσκήματα τῶ Μειδία παρακομίζουσαν, ἢ που πολιτικός άνηρ άγωνοθεσίας καὶ βοιωταρχίας καὶ τὰς ἐν D ᾿Αμφικτύοσι προεδρίας ἀπολιπών, εἶθ᾽ ὁρώμενος ἐν αλφίτων και στεμφύλων διαμετρήσει και πόκοις προβάτων οὐ παντάπασι δόξει τοῦτο δὴ τὸ καλούμενον '' ἵππου γῆρας '' ἐπάγεσθαι, μηδενὸς ἀναγκάζοντος; έργασίας γε μὴν βαναύσου καὶ ἀγο-palas ἄπτεσθαι μετὰ πολιτείαν ὅμοιόν ἐστι τῷ γυναικός έλευθέρας καὶ σώφρονος ένδυμα περι-

σπάσαντα καὶ περίζωμα δόντα συνέχειν ἐπὶ 1 τραγωδίας] τραγωδίαις Hartman. \* πολιτείαν Madvig: πολιτείας.

There is epigraphic as well as literary evidence for the

Philemon, the chief rival of Menander, was born in 361 and died in 262 B.c. Suidas (s.v. Φιλήμων) states that he died in his sleep at the age of 99 years, the pseudo-Lucian (Macrobioi, 25) that he died of excessive laughter when 97 years old.

#### OLD MEN IN PUBLIC AFFAIRS, 785

But Philemon<sup>a</sup> the comic dramatist and Alexis <sup>b</sup> were overtaken by death while they were on the stage acting and being crowned with garlands. And Polus the tragic actor, as Eratosthenes and Philochorus tell us, when he was seventy years old acted in eight tragedies in four days shortly before his death.<sup>c</sup>

4. Is it, then, not disgraceful that the old men of the public platform are found to be less noble than those of the stage, and that they withdraw from the truly sacred contests, put off the political rôle, and assume I do not know what in its stead? For surely after the rôle of a king that of a farmer is a mean one. For when Demosthenes says d that the Paralus, being the sacred galley, was unworthily treated when it was used to transport beams, stakes, and cattle for Meidias, will not a public man who gives up such offices as superintendent of public games, Boeotian magistrate, and president of the Amphictyonic council, and is thereafter seen busying himself with measuring flour and olive cakes and with tufts of sheep's wool-will not he be thought to be bringing upon himself "the old age of a horse," as the saying is, when nobody forces him to do so? Surely taking up menial work fit only for the market-place after holding public offices is like stripping a freeborn and modest woman of her gown, putting a cook's apron on her, and keeping her in a tavern; for just so

prolific poet of See Ka age of Alexis, the foremost ho lived circa 376-270 s.c. suppl. Bd., and Am. Jour.

Phil. xxi. (1900) pp. 59 ff.

A long list of Greeks who lived to an advanced age is given by B. E. Richardson, Old Age among the Ancient Greeks, pp. 215-232.

d Demosthenes, xxi. (Against Meidias) 568.

καπηλείου· καὶ γὰρ τῆς πολιτικῆς ἀρετῆς οὕτως ἀπόλλυται τὸ ἀξίωμα καὶ τὸ μέγεθος πρός τινας Ε οἰκονομίας καὶ χρηματισμούς ἀγομέτης. ἀν δ', ὅπερ λοιπόν ἐστι, ρὰστώνας καὶ ἀπολαύσεις τὰς ήδυπαθείας καὶ τὰς τρυφὰς ὀνομάζοντες ἐν ταύταις μαραινόμενον ἡσυχῆ παρακαλῶσι γηράσκειν τὸν πολιτικόν, οὐκ οίδα ποτέρα δυεῦν εἰκόνων αἰσχρῶν πρέπειν δόξει μάλλον ὁ βίος αὐτοῦ· πότερον ἀφροδίσια ναύταις ἄγουσι πάντα τὸν λοιπὸν ἤδη χρόνον οὐκ ἐν λιμένι τὴν ναῦν ἔχουσιν ἀλλ' ἔτι πλέουσαν ἀπολείπουσιν· ἢ καθάπερ ἔνιοι τὸν Ἡρακλέα παίζοντες οὐκ εὖ γράφουσιν ἐν Ὁμφάλης κροκατοφόρον ἐνδιδόντα Λυδαῖς θεραπαινίσι ρἰπίζειν καὶ παραπλέκειν ἑαυτόν, οὕτω τὸν πολιτικὸν Εἰκδύσαντες τὴν λεοντῆν καὶ κατακλίναντες εὐ-

εκουσαντες την Λεοντην και κατακλυσώτες ευωχήσομεν αεί καταψαλλόμενον και καταυλούμενον,
ούδε τῆ τοῦ Πομπηίου Μάγνου φωνῆ διατραπέντες
τῆ πρός Λεύκολλον¹ αὐτόν μεν εἰς λουτρὰ καὶ
δεῖπια καὶ συνουσίας μεθημερινὰς καὶ πολύν ἄλυν
καὶ κατασκευὰς οἰκοδομημάτων νεοπρεπεῖς μετὰ
τὰς στραπείας καὶ πολιτείας ἀφεικότα, τῷ δὲ
Πομπηίω φιλαρχίαν ἐγκαλοῦντα καὶ φιλοτιμίαν
παρ' ηλικίαν. ἔφη γὰρ ὁ Πομπήιος ἀωρότερον

786 εἶναι γέροντι τὸ ἀτρυφῶν ἢ τὸ ἄρχειν ἐπεὶ δὲἰ νοσοῦντι συνἐταξε κίχλην ὁ ἰατρός, ἢν δὲ δυσπόριστον καὶ παρὶ ὥραν, ἔφη δέ τις εἶναι παρὰ Λευκόλλω πολλὰς τρεφομένας, οὐκ ἔπεμψεν οὐδὶ ἔλαβεν εἰπών, '' οὐκοῦν, εἰ μὴ Λεύκολλος ἐτρύφα, Πομπήιος οὐκ ἄν ἔξησε;''

Καὶ γὰρ εἰ ζητεῖ πάντως ἡ φύσις τὸ ἡδὺ καὶ

<sup>1</sup> Λεύκολλον Duebner: λεύκολλον ήν εἶπεν.

## OLD MEN IN PUBLIC AFFAIRS, 785-786

the dignity and greatness of high ability in public life is destroyed when it is turned to household affairs and money-making. But if-the only thing left-they give to self-indulgence and luxury the names of rest and recreation, and urge the statesman quietly to waste away and grow old in them, I do not know which of two disgraceful pictures his life will seem to resemble more closely, that of sailors who desert their ship, when they have not brought it into the harbour but it is still under sail, and devote themselves to sexual indulgence for all time to come, or that of Heracles, as some painters playfully, but with evil influence, represent him in Omphale's palace wearing a yellow gown and giving himself up to her Lydian maids to be fanned and have his hair curled. Shall we in like manner strip the statesman of his lion's skin and make him constantly recline at banquets to the music of harps and flutes? And shall we not be deterred by the words addressed by Pompey the Great to Lucullus? For Lucullus gave himself up after his military activities to baths, banquets, sexual intercourse in the daytime, great listlessness, and the erection of new-fangled buildings; and he reproached Pompey for his love of office and of honour as unsuited to his age. Pompey said that it was more untimely for an old man to indulge in luxury than to hold office. once when he was ill and the physician prescribed a thrush (which was hard to get and out of season), and someone said that Lucullus had plenty of them in his breeding-place, Pompey refused to send and get one, saving, "Could Pompey, then, not live if Lucullus were not luxurious?"

5. For granted that nature seeks in every way

(786) τὸ χαίρειν, τὸ μὲν σῶμα τῶν γερόντων ἀπείρηκε πρὸς πάσας, πλὴν ὀλίγων τῶν ἀναγκαίων, τὰς ἡδονάς, καὶ οὐχ

# ή 'Αφροδίτη τοῖς γέρουσιν ἄχθεται

Β μόνον, ώς Εὐριπίδης φησίν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς πεοὶ πόσιν καὶ βρώσιν ἐπιθυμίας ἀπημβλυμμένας τὰ πολλά καὶ νωδάς κατέχοντες μόλις οΐον ἐπιθήγουσι καί χαράττουσιν· ἐν δὲ τῆ ψυχῆ παρασκευαστέον ήδονας ουκ αγεννείς ουδ' ανελευθέρους, ώς Σιμωνίδης έλεγε πρός τους έγκαλοῦντας αὐτῷ φιλαργυρίαν, ὅτι τῶν ἄλλων ἀπεστερημένος διὰ τὸ γῆρας ήδονων ύπο μιας έτι γηροβοσκείται της από τοῦ κερδαίνειν. άλλ' ή πολιτεία καλλίστας μεν ήδονας έχει καὶ μεγίστας, αίς καὶ τούς θεούς εἰκός ἐστιν η μόναις η μάλιστα χαίρειν αδται δ' εἰσίν, ας τὸ εὖ ποιεῖν καὶ καλόν τι πράττειν ἀναδίδωσιν. εἰ γάρ Νικίας ὁ ζωγράφος οὕτως ἔχαιρε τοῖς τῆς Ο τέχνης έργοις, ώστε τους οικέτας έρωταν πολλάκις, εί λέλουται καὶ ήρίστηκεν 'Αρχιμήδην δὲ τῆ σανίδι προσκείμενον ἀποσπώντες βία και ἀποδύοντες ήλειφον οί θεράποντες, ὁ δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ σώματος άληλιμμένου διέγραφε τὰ σχήματα· Κάνος² δ' δ αὐλητής, ον καὶ σὺ γιγνώσκεις, ἔλεγεν ἀγνοεῖν τούς ανθρώπους, ὄσω μαλλον αύτον αύλων η

ἀπημβλυμμένας Bernardakis: ἀπημβλυμένας.
 Κάνος Life of Galba, chap. xvi.: κανὸς.

# OLD MEN IN PUBLIC AFFAIRS, 786

pleasure and enjoyment, old men are physically incapacitated for all pleasures except a few necessary ones, and not only

Aphroditê with old men is wroth,

as Euripides says, but their appetites also for food and drink are for the most part blunted and toothless, so that they can, if I may say so, hardly whet and sharpen them. They ought to prepare for themselves pleasures in the mind, not ignoble and illiberal ones like that of Simonides, who said to those who reproached him for his avarice that, since old age had deprived him of all other pleasures, he was comforting his declining years with the only one left, the pleasure of gain. Public life, on the other hand, possesses pleasures most noble and great, those in fact from which the gods themselves, as we may reasonably suppose, derive their only or their chief enjoyment. These are the pleasures that spring from good deeds and noble actions. For if Nicias the painter took such delight in the labours of his art that he often had to ask his servants whether he had had his bath and his breakfast; and if Archimedes when intent upon his drawing-tablet had to be dragged away by force, stripped and anointed by his servants, and then drew diagrams upon his anointed body; and if Canus the flute-player, with whom you also are acquainted, used to say that people did not know how much greater pleasure he gave to himself than to others when he played, for

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Euripides, Aeolus, Frag. 23, Nauck, Trag. Graec. Frag. p. 369. Plutarch, Moralia 285 B, gives two lines:

ἀλλ' ἢ τὸ γῆρας τὴν Κύπριν χαίρειν ἐᾳ̂ ἢ τ' ᾿Αφροδίτη τοῖς γεροῦσιν ἄχθεται, " But either eld to C'ypris bids farewell Or Aphroditê with old men is wroth."

(786) έτέρους εὐφραίνει· λαμβάνειν γὰρ ἃν μισθὸν οὐ διδόναι τοὺς ἀκούειν ἐθέλοντας· ἄρ' οὐκ ἐπινοοῦμεν, ἡλίκας ἡδονὰς αἱ ἀρεταὶ τοῦς χρωμένοις ἀπὸ τῶν καλῶν πράξεων καὶ τῶν κοινωνικῶν ἔργων καὶ θρύπτουσαι, ἄσπερ αἱ εἰς σάρκα λεῖαι καὶ προσηνεῖς D γινόμεναι κινήσεις; ἀλλ' αὖται μὲν οἰστρῶδες καὶ ἀβέβαιον καὶ μεμιγμένον σφυγμῷ τὸ γαργαλίζον ἔχουσιν, αἱ δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς καλοῖς ἔργοις, οἰων δημιουργὸς ὁ πολιτευόμενος ὀρθῶς ἐστιν, οὐ ταῖς Εὐριπίδου χρυσαῖς πτέρυξιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς Πλατωνικοῖς ἐκείνοις καὶ οὐρανίοις πτεροῖς ὅμοια τὴν ψυχὴν μέγεθος καὶ φρόνημα μετὰ γήθους λαμβάνουσαν ἀναφέρουσιν.
6. Ὑπομίμησικε δὲ σεαυτὸν ὧν πολλάκις ἀκήκαςς ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ἐπαμεινώνδας ἐρωτηθείς τὶ ἤδιστον αὐτῷ γέγονεν, ἀπεκρίνατο τὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἔτι ζῶντος καὶ τῆς μητρὸς νικῆσαι τὴν ἐν Λεύκτροις

κοας: δ μέν γάρ Έπαμεινώνδας ἐρωτηθεὶς τι ηδιστον αὐτῷ γέγονεν, ἀπεκρίνατο τὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἔτι ζῶντος καὶ τῆς μητρὸς νικῆσαι τὴν ἐν Λεύκτροις μάχην. ὁ δὲ Σύλλας, ὅτε τῶν ἐμφυλίων πολέμων Ετὴν Ἰταλίαν καθήρας προσέμιξε τῆ Ὑσμη πρῶτον, οὐδὲ μικρὸν ἐν τῆ νυκτὶ κατέδαρθεν, ὑπο γήθους καὶ χαρᾶς μεγάλης ὡσπερ πνεύματος ἀναφερόμενος τὴν ψυχήν καὶ ταῦτα περὶ αὐτοῦ γέγραφεν ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν. ἄκουσμα μὲν γὰρ ἔστω μηδὲν ῆδιον ἐπαίνου κατὰ τὸν Ξενοφῶντα, θέαμα δὲ καὶ μνημόνευμα καὶ διανόημα τῶν ὅντων οὐδὲν ἔστιν ὁ τοσαύτην φέρει χάριν, ὅσην πράξεων ἰδίων ἐν ἀρχαῖς καὶ πολιτείαις ὅσπερ ἐν τόποις λαμπροῦς καὶ δημοσίοις ἀναθεώρησις. οὐ μὴν

<sup>&</sup>quot; Nauck, Trag. Graec. Frag. p. 655, no. 911.

# OLD MEN IN PUBLIC AFFAIRS, 786

if they did, those who wished to hear him would receive pay instead of giving it. In view of these examples, do we not perceive how great are the pleasures the virtues provide, for those who practise them, as the result of the noble deeds they do and their works for the good of the community and of mankind; and that too without tickling or enervating them as do the smooth and gentle motions made on the body? Those have a frantic, unsteady titillation mixed with convulsive throbbing, but the pleasures given by noble works, such as those of which the man who rightly serves the State is the author, not like the golden wings of Euripides a but like those heavenly Platonic pinions, bear the soul on high as it acquires greatness and lofty spirit mingled with joy.

6. And recall to your mind stories you have often heard. For Epameinondas, when asked what was the pleasantest thing that had happened to him, replied that it was winning the battle of Leuctra while his father and mother were still living. Sulla, when he first entered Rome after freeing Italy of its civil wars, did not sleep at all that night, he was so borne aloft in spirit by great joy and glad-ness as by a blast of wind. This he has written about himself in his memoirs. For granted that, as Xenophon says, there is no sound sweeter than praise, yet there is no sight, reminder, or perception in the world which brings such great pleasure as the contemplation of one's own acts in offices and positions of State in which one may be said to be in places flooded with light and in view of all the

Xenophon, Memorabilia, ii. 1. 31.

b Plato, Phaedrus, 246 B-248 E, where the soul is likened to a chariot and charioteer with winged steeds.

F άλλά καὶ χάρις εὐμενής συμμαρτυροῦσα¹ τοῖς έργοις και συναμιλλώμενος έπαινος, εύνοίας δικαίας ήγεμών, οίόν τι φῶς καὶ γάνωμα τῷ χαίροντι τῆς άρετης προστίθησι και δεί μη περιοράν ώσπερ άθλητικον στέφανον εν γήρα ξηράν γενομένην την δόξαν, άλλα καινον αξί τι και πρόσφατον ἐπιφέροντα την των παλαιών χάριν έγείρειν και ποιείν άμείνω καὶ μόνιμον ωσπερ οἱ τεχνίται, οἷς ἐπέκειτο φροντίζειν σώον είναι τὸ Δηλιακόν πλοίον, άντί των πονούντων ξύλων έμβάλλοντες άλλα καί συμπηγνύντες αίδιον έκ των τότε χρόνων και άφθαρτον 787 έδόκουν διαφυλάττειν. έστι δὲ καὶ δόξης καὶ φλογός οὐ χαλεπή σωτηρία καὶ τήρησις άλλά μικοῶν ὑπεκκαυμάτων δεομένη, κατασβεσθέν δὲ καὶ ὑποψυχθὲν οὐδέτερον ἄν τις ἀπραγμόνως πάλιν εξάψειεν. ώς δε Λάμπις δ ναύκληρος ερωτηθείς πως έκτήσατο τὸν πλοῦτον "οὐ χαλεπως" ἔφη " τὸν μέγαν, τὸν δὲ βραχὺν ἐπιπόνως καὶ βραδέως". ούτω της πολιτικής δόξης και δυνάμεως έν άρχη τυγείν ου ράδιον έστι, το δε συναυξήσαι καί διαφυλάξαι μεγάλην γενομένην ἀπὸ τῶν τυγόντων ετοιμον. ούτε γάρ φίλος όταν γένηται πολλάς B λειτουργίας ἐπιζητεῖ καὶ μεγάλας, ἵνα μένη φίλος, μικροίς δε σημείοις το ενδελεχες αεί διαφυλάττει την εύνοιαν ή τε δήμου φιλία και πίστις ούκ

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> συμμαρτυρούσα Bernardakis: ή μαρτυρούσα, <sup>2</sup> ναύκληρος Leonicus: ναυκληρικός,

ναυκληρος Leonicus: ναυκληρικός.
 So Wyttenbach: ἀπὸ τῶν τυχόντων γενομένην.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> By "Delian ship" is meant the Paralus which was sent

people. Yes, and m ... witness to the acts. tude and ushering . were, a light and brilliance to the joy that comes from virtue. And it is a man's duty not to allow his reputation to become withered in his old age like an athlete's garland, but by new and fresh to arouse previous actions and ma!. as the artisans who we the Delian ship a in g. and fastening in new timbers to take the place of those which were becoming weak, seemed to keep the vessel from those ancient times everlasting and indestructible. Now the preservation and maintenance of reputation, as of fire, is not difficult and demands little fuel, but no one can without trouble rekindle either of them when it has gone out and grown cold. And just as Lampis the sea captain, when asked how he acquired his wealth, said, "My great wealth easily, but the small beginnings of it slowly and with toil," so political reputation and power are not easy to attain at first, but when once they have grown great it is easy to augment them and keep them great by taking advantage of casual opportunities. For when a man has once become a friend, he does not require many and great services that he may remain a friend, but constancy shown by small tokens always preserves his goodwill, and so likewise the friendship and confidence of the people do

annually from Athens with delegates to the festival at Delos. Annual repairs were so long continued that none of the original timbers remained and the question arose whether it was the same ship or not.

(787) ἀεὶ δεομένη¹ χορηγοῦντος οὐδὰ προδικοῦντος² οὐδὰ ἄρχοντος αὐτῆ τῆ προθυμία συνέχεται καὶ τῷ μὴ προαπολείποντι μηδὰ ἀπαγορεύοντι τῆς ἐπιμελείας καὶ φροντίδος. οὐδὰ γὰρ αἰ στρατεῖαι παρατάξεις ἀεὶ καὶ μάχας καὶ πολιορκίας ἔχουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ θυσίας ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ συνουσίας διὰ μέσου καὶ σχολὴν ἄφθονον ἐν παιδιαῖς καὶ φλυαρίαις δέχονται. πόθεν γε δὴ τὴν πολιτείαν φοβητέον, ὡς ἄπαραμύθητον καὶ πολύπονον καὶ βαρεῖαν, ὅπου καὶ θέστρα καὶ πομπαὶ καὶ νεμήσεις καὶ '' χοροὶ καὶ C Μοῖσα² καὶ ᾿Αγλαἴα '' καὶ θεοῦ τινος ἀεὶ τιμὴ τὰς ἀφρῦς λύουσα παντός ἀρχείου καὶ συνεδρίου πολλαπλάσιον τὸ ἐπιτερπὲς καὶ κεχαρισμένον ἀποδίδωσιν;

7. "Ο τοίνυν μέγιστον κακὸν ἔχουσιν αἱ πολιτεῖαι, τὸν φθόνον, ἤκιστα διερείδεται πρὸς τὸ γῆρας. ''κύνες γὰρ καὶ βαὖζουσιν ὅν ἄν μὴ γινώσκωσι ''καθ' Ἡράκλειτον, καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἀρχόμενον ιὅσπερ ἐν θύραις τοῦ βήματος μάχεται καὶ πάροδον οὐ δίδωσι τὴν δὲ σύντροφον καὶ συνήθη δόξαν οὐκ ἀγρίως οὐδὲ χαλεπῶς ἀλλὰ πράως ἀνέχεται. διὰ τὸν φθόνον ἔνιοι τῷ καπνῷ παρεικάζουσι πολὺς γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ἀρχομένοις διὰ τὸ φλέγεσθαι προκ. D πίπτων, ὅταν ἐκλάμμψωσιν, ἀφανίζεται. καὶ ταῖς μὲν ἄλλαις ὑπεροχαῖς προσμάχονται καὶ διαμφισβητοῦσιν ἀρετῆς καὶ γένους καὶ φιλοτιμίας, ὡς

<sup>1</sup> δεομένη Jannot: δεχομένη.
 <sup>2</sup> προδικοῦντος Jannot: προσδοκῶντος.
 <sup>8</sup> Μοῖσα Boeckh: μοῦσα.
 <sup>4</sup> τον Η.Ν.Ε.: τὸ.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Pindar, Bergk-Schroeder, p. 467, no. 199 (213). 98

not constantly demand that a man pay for choruses, plead causes, or hold offices; no, they are maintained by his mere readiness to serve and by not failing or growing weary in care and concern for the people. For even wars do not consist entirely of pitched battles, fighting, and sieges, but they admit of occasional sacrifices, social gatherings in between, and abundant leisure for games and foolishness. Why, then, forsooth, is public life feared as inexorable, toilsome, and burdensome, when theatrical exhibitions, festive processions, distributions of food, "choruses and the Muse and Aglata," a and con-

stantly the worship of some god, smooth the brows of legislators in every senate and assembly and repay its troubles many times over with pleasure

and enjoyment?

7. Now the greatest evil attendant upon public life, envy, is least likely to beset old age, " for dogs do indeed bark at whom they do not know," according to Heracleitus, and envy fights against a man as he begins his public career, at the doorway, as it were. of the orator's platform, and tries to refuse him access, but familiar and accustomed reputation it does not savagely and roughly resent, but puts up with mildly. For this reason envy is sometimes likened to smoke, for in the case of those who are beginning their public career it pours out before them in great volume because they are enkindled, but when they burst into full flame it disappears. And whereas men attack other kinds of eminence and themselves lay claim to good character, good birth, and honour, as though they were depriving

Aglaïa, one of the Graces, was especially connected with festive merriment.

(787) άφαιροῦντες αύτων όσον άλλοις ύφίενται το δ' από του χρόνου πρωτείον, ο καλείται κυρίως πρεσβείον, αξηλοτύπητόν έστι και παραχωρούμενον οὐδεμιά γὰρ οὕτω τιμή συμβέβηκε τὸν τιμώντα μαλλον ή τον τιμώμενον κοσμείν, ώς τη των γερόντων. έτι την μεν άπο τοῦ πλούτου δύναμιν η λόγου δεινότητος η σοφίας ου πάντες αυτοις νενήσεσθαι προσδοκώσιν, έφ' ήν δε προάγει το νήρας αίδω και δόξαν οὐδείς ἀπελπίζει των πολιτευομένων. οὐδὲν οὖν διαφέρει κυβερνήτου πρός εναντίον κύμα και πνεύμα πλεύσαντος έπι-Ε σφαλώς, εὐδίας δὲ καὶ εὐαερίας γενομένης δρμίσασθαι ζητούντος, ο τῷ φθόνω διαναυμαχήσας πολύν χρόνον, είτα παυσαμένου και στορεσθέντος, άνακρουόμενος έκ της πολιτείας και προϊέμενος άμα ταις πράξεσι τὰς κοινωνίας καὶ τὰς έταιρείας. όσω γαρ χρόνος γέγονε πλείων, και φίλους πλείονας καὶ συναγωνιστάς πεποίηκεν, οθς οθτε συνεξάνειν έαυτῷ πάντας ἐνδέχεται καθάπερ διδασκάλω χορον Ε ούτ' έγκαταλείπειν δίκαιον άλλ' ώσπερ τὰ παλαιὰ δένδρα την μακράν πολιτείαν ου ράδιον έστιν άνασπάσαι πολύρριζον οδσαν καὶ πράγμασιν έμπεπλεγμένην, α πλείονας παρέχει ταραχάς καί σπαραγμούς ἀπερχομένοις ἡ μένουσιν. καὶ περίεστι φθόνου λείψανον ή φιλονεικίας πρός τούς νέροντας έκ των πολιτικών αγώνων, κατασβεστέον τοῦτο τῆ δυνάμει μᾶλλον ἡ δοτέον τὰ νωτα, γυμνούς καὶ ἀόπλους ἀπιόντας οὐ γάρ

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> ἐγκαταλείπειν Bernardakis: ἐγκαταλιπεῖν, <sup>2</sup> ἀόπλους Bernardakis: ἀνόπλους.

themselves of so much of these as they grant to others; yet the primacy which comes from time, for which there is the special word presbeion or "the prerogative due to seniority in age," arouses no jealousy and is freely conceded; for of no honour is it so true that it adorns the giver more than the receiver as of that which is paid to old age. over, not all men expect that the power derived from wealth, eloquence, or wisdom will accrue to them, but no one who takes part in public life is without hope of attaining the reverence and repute to which old age leads. So there is no difference between the pilot who has sailed in great danger against adverse winds and waves, and, after clear weather and fair winds have come, seeks his moorings, and the man who has struggled in the ship of State a long time against the billows of envy, and then, when they have ceased and become smooth, backs water and withdraws from public life, giving up his political affiliations and clubs along with his public activities. For the longer the time has been the greater the number of those whom he has made his friends and fellow-workers, and he cannot take them all out with him, as a trainer leads out his chorus, nor is it fair to leave them in the lurch. But a long public career is, like old trees, hard to pull up, for it has many roots and is interwoven with affairs which cause more troubles and torments to those who withdraw from them than to those who remain in them. And if any remnant of envy or jealousy does continue against old men from their political contests, they should rather extinguish this by power than turn their backs and go away naked and unarmed. For people

ούτως αγωνιζομένοις φθονούντες ώς απειπαμένοις καταφρονήσαντες επιτίθενται.

788 8. Μαρτυρεί δὲ καὶ τὸ λεχθὲν ὑπ' Ἐπαμεινώνδα τοῦ μεγάλου πρός τους Θηβαίους, ὅτε χειμῶνος όντος οἱ ᾿Αρκάδες παρεκάλουν αὐτούς ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις διαιτάσθαι παρελθόντας είς την πόλιν ου γάρ εἴασεν, ἀλλὰ "νῦν μέν," ἔφη, "θαυμάζουσιν ύμᾶς καὶ θεῶνται πρὸς τὰ ὅπλα γυμναζομένους καὶ παλαίοντας αν δε πρός τῷ πυρί καθημένους δρῶσι τον κύαμον κάπτοντας, οὐδεν αύτῶν ἡγήσονται διαφέρειν." ούτω δη σεμνόν έστι θέαμα πρεσβύτης Β λένων τι καὶ πράττων καὶ τιμώμενος, ὁ δ' ἐν κλίνη διημερεύων η καθήμενος έν γωνία στοᾶς φλυαρών και απομυττόμενος ευκαταφρόνητος. αμέλει καὶ "Ομηρος διδάσκει τοὺς ὀρθως ἀκούοντας. δ μέν γὰρ Νέστωρ στρατευόμενος ἐν Τροία σεμνὸς ην και πολυτίμητος, ο δε Πηλεύς και ο Λαέρτης οἰκουροθντες ἀπερρίφησαν καὶ κατεφρονήθησαν. οὐδὲ γὰρ ή τοῦ φρονεῖν ἔξις ὁμοίως παραμένει τοῖς μεθείσιν αύτούς, άλλ' ύπ' άργίας έξανιεμένη καί αναλυομένη κατά μικρον αεί τινα ποθεί φροντίδος μελέτην, το λογιστικόν και πρακτικόν έγειρούσης και διακαθαιρούσης.

λάμπει γὰρ ἐν χρείαισιν, ὥσπερ εὖπρεπής χαλκός.

C οὐ·γὰρ τόσον σώματος ἀσθένεια κακὸν πρόσεστι ταῖς πολιτείαις τῷν παρ' ἡλικίαν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα καὶ τὸ στρατήγιον βαδιζόντων, ὅσον ἔχουσιν ἀγαθὸν

<sup>1</sup> κάπτοντας Coraes: κόπτοντας.

do not attack them so much because of envy if they maintain the contest as because of contempt if they

have given up.

8. Testimony to the point is what Epameinondas the Great said to the Thebans when in winter weather the Arcadians invited them to come into the city and be quartered in their houses. He forbade it, saying "Now they admire you and gaze at you as you do your military exercises and wrestle, but if they see you sitting by the fire and gobbling your bean porridge, they will think you are no better than they are." Just so an old man active in word and deed and held in honour is a sight to arouse reverence, but one who spends the day in bed or sits in the corner of the porch chattering and wiping his nose is an object of contempt. And undoubtedly Homer also teaches this to those who hear aright; for Nestor, who went to the war at Troy, was revered and highly honoured, but Peleus and Laërtes, who staved at home, were put aside and despised. For the habit of prudence does not last so well in those who let themselves become slack, but, being gradually lost and dissipated ? "s for what may be called thought rouses and purifies the power of reason and action;

For when in use it gleams like beauteous bronze.

For the evil caused by their physical weakness to the public activities of those who step into civil or military office when beyond the usual age is not so great as the advantage they possess in their caution and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> From an unknown drama of Sophocles; Nauck, Trag. Graec. Frag. p. 314, no. 780; it is quoted in fuller form in Moralia, 792 A and 1129 c.

(788) τὴν εὐλάβειαν καὶ τὴν φρόνησιν, καὶ τὸ μὴ φερόμενον, αλλοτε μεν δι εσφαλμένα ότε δ' ύπο δόξης κενής, προσπίπτειν πρός τὰ κοινὰ καὶ συνεφέλκεσθαι τὸν ὅχλον, ὤσπερ θάλατταν ὑπὸ πνευμάτων ἐκταραττόμενον, ἀλλὰ πράως τε χρῆσθαι καὶ μετρίως τοις εντυγχάνουσιν, όθεν αί πόλεις, όταν πταίσωσιν ή φοβηθώσι, πρεσβυτέρων ποθούσιν άρχην

D ἀνθρώπων και πολλάκις ἐξ ἀγροῦ κατάγουσαι γέροντα μη δεόμενον μηδε βουλόμενον ηνάγκασαν ὥσπερ οἰάκων εφαψάμενον εἰς ἀσφαλες καταστήσαι τὰ πράγματα, παρωσάμεναί τε στρατηγούς καὶ δημαγωγούς βοᾶν μέγα καὶ λέγειν ἀπνευστὶ καὶ νὴ Δία τοῖς πολεμίοις διαβάντας εὖ μάχεσθαι δυναμένους οίον οἱ δήτορες 'Αθήνησι Τιμοθέω καὶ Ιφικράτει Χάρητα τον Θεοχάρους επαποδύοντες άκμάζοντα τῷ σώματι καὶ ῥωμαλέον ήξίουν τοιοῦτον είναι τὸν τῶν ᾿Αθηναίων στρατηγόν, ὁ

Ε δὲ Τιμόθεος ''οὐ μὰ τοὺς θεούς,'' εἶπεν, '' ἀλλὰ τοιοῦτον μὲν είναι τὸν μέλλοντα τῷ στρατηγῷ τὰ στρώματα κομίζειν, τον δε στρατηγόν ' αμα πρόσω και όπίσω ' τῶν πραγμάτων ὁρῶντα και μηδενί πάθει τούς περί τῶν συμφερόντων λογισμούς ἐπιταραττόμενον." ὁ γὰρ Σοφοκλης ἄσμενος ἔφη τὰ άφροδίσια γεγηρακώς ἀποπεφευγέναι καθάπερ άγριον καὶ λυσσώντα δεσπότην εν δε ταῖς πολιτείαις

<sup>1</sup> καὶ τὸ μὴ φερόμενον Fowler: καὶ τὸ μὴ φαινόμενον. Bernardakis suggests άτε μή φαινομένων (sc. τῶν παρ' ήλικίαν έπὶ τὸ βῆμα βαδιζόντων) ἄλλοτε μὲν ἐσφαλμένως ὅτε δ' ὑπὸ δόξης κτέ. Reiske conjectured και τό μή φαινόμενον (sc. τινα) αμα τὰ μεν ἐσφαλμένα τὰ δ' ὑπὸ δόξης κτέ. <sup>2</sup> άλλοτε Bernardakis: άλλὰ τὰ.

δι' added at Capps' suggestion by Fowler. 4 ότε δ' Bernardakis: τὰ δ'.

prudence and in the fact that they do not, borne along sometimes because of past failures and sometimes as the result of vain opinion, dash headlong upon public affairs, dragging the mob along with them in confusion like the storm-tossed sea, but manage gently and moderately the matters which arise. And that is why States when they are in difficulties or in fear yearn for the rule of the elder men; and often they have brought from his field some aged man, not by his request and even contrary to his wish, and have forced him to take the helm, as it were, and steer affairs into safety, and in so doing they have pushed aside generals and politicians who were able to shout loud and to speak without pausing for breath and, by Zeus, even men who were able, planting their feet firmly, to fight bravely against the enemy. So, for example, the politicians at Athens grooming Chares, son of Theochares, a powerful man at the height of his physical strength, to be the opponent of Timotheüs and Iphicrates, declared that the general of the Athenians ought to be such as he, but Timotheus said, "No, by the gods, but such should be the man who is to carry the general's bedding. general should be one who sees at the same time 'that which is before and behind 'b and does not let anything that happens disturb his reasoning as to what is for the best." Sophocles o indeed said that he was glad to have escaped, now that he was old, from sexual love, as from a cruel and raging tyrant;

A reminiscence of Tyrtaeus, 8. 31 ἀλλά τις εδ διαβάς μενέτω, and Homer, Il. xii. 458.
 b Homer, Il. i. 343.
 Cf. Plato, Republic, 329 c, with Shorey's note.

δ τε χρησθαι G. Papavassiliu: κεχρησθαι.

οὐχ ἔνα δεῖ δεσπότην, ἔρωτα παίδων ἢ γυναικῶν, ἀποφεύγειν, ἀλλὰ πολλοὺς μανικωτέρους τούτου, φιλονεικίαν, φιλοδοξίαν, τὴν τοῦ πρῶτον είναι καὶ μέγιστον ἐπιθυμίαν, γονιμώτατον φθόνου νόσημα Ε καὶ ζηλοτυπίας καὶ διχοστασίας: ὧν τὰ μὲν ἀνίησι καὶ παραμβλύνει, τὰ δ' ὅλως ἀποσβέννυσι καὶ καταψύχει τὸ γῆρας, οὐ τοσοῦτον τῆς πρακτικῆς όρμῆς παραιρούμενον, ὅσον τῶν ἀκρατῶν καὶ διαπύρων ἀπερύκει παθῶν, ὅστε νήφοντα καὶ καθεστηκότα τὸν λογισμὸν ἐπάγειν ταῖς φροντίσιν.

9. Ο ψ μην ἀλλ' ἔστω καί δοκείτω διατρεπτικός είναι λόγος πρός τὸν ἀρχόμενον ἐν πολιαῖς νεανιεύεσθαι λεγόμενος καὶ καθαπτόμενος ἐκ μακρᾶς οἰκουρίας ὤσπερ νοσηλείας ἐξανισταμένου καὶ κινουμένου γέροντος ἐπὶ στρατηγίαν ἢ πραγματείαν,

μέν', ὧ ταλαίπωρ', ἀτρέμα σοῖς ἐν δεμνίοις:

789 ὁ δὲ τὸν ἐμβεβιωκότα πολιτικαῖς πράξεσι καὶ διηγωνισμένον οὐκ ἐῶν ἐπὶ τὴν δᾶδα καὶ τὴν κορωνίδα τοῦ βίου προελθεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀνακαλούμενος καὶ κελεύων ὥσπερ ἐξ όδοῦ μακρᾶς μεταβαλέσθαι, παντάπασιν ἀγνώμων καὶ μηδὲν ἐκείνψ προσεοικώς ἐστιν. ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ γαμεῖν παρασκευαζόμενον γέροντ' ἐστεφανωμένον καὶ μυριζόμενον ἀποτρέπων καὶ λέγων τὰ πρὸς τὸν Φιλοκτήτην

τίς δ' ἄν σε νύμφη, τίς δὲ παρθένος νέα δέξαιτ' ἄν; εὖ γοῦνὶ ὧς γαμεῖν ἔχεις τάλας

1 γοῦν Musgrave: γ' οὖν.

<sup>b</sup> Kock, Com. Att. Frag. iii. p. 609, no. 1215, attributes

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Euripides, Orestes, 258. These words are addressed to the sick Orestes by his sister Electra.

but in public life one must escape, not from one tyrant, the love of boys or women, but from many loves which are more insane than that: love of contention, love of fame, the desire to be first and greatest, which is a disease most prolific of envy, jealousy, and discord. Some of these old age does slacken and dull, but others it quenches and cools entirely, not so much by withdrawing a man from the impulse to action as by keeping him from excessive and fiery passions, so as to bring sober and settled reasoning to bear upon his thoughts.

9. However, let us grant that the words

Bide still, poor wretch, in thine own bedding wrapped a are and appear to be deterrent when addressed to a man who begins to act young when his hair is grey and that they rebuke the old man who gets up from long continued home-keeping, as from a long illness, and sets out towards the office of general or of civil administrator; but the words which forbid a man who has spent his life in public affairs and contests to go on to the funeral torch and the end of his life, and which call him back and tell him, as it were, to leave the road he has travelled so long and take a new one,-those words are altogether unkind and not at all like those we have quoted. For just as he is perfectly reasonable who tries to dissuade an old man who is garlanded and perfumed in preparation for his wedding, and says to him what was said to Philoctetes.

What bride, what virgin in her youth, you wretch, Would take you? You're a pretty one to wed!" b

these lines to Strattis, a poet of the Middle Comedy; Nauck, Trag. Grace. Frag. p. 841, no. 10, to an unknown tragic poet.

Βοὐκ ἄτοπός ἐστι· καὶ γὰρ αὐτοὶ πολλὰ τοιαθτα (789) παίζουσιν εἰς ἑαυτούς

γαμώ γέρων, εδ οίδα, καὶ τοῖς γείτοσιν

ό δὲ τὸν πάλαι συνοικοῦντα καὶ συμβιοῦντα πολὺν χρόνον ἀμέμπτως οἰόμενος δεῖν ἀφεῖναι διὰ τὸ γῆρας τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ ζῆν καθ' ἐαυτὸν ἢ παλλακίδιον ἀντὶ τῆς γαμετῆς ἐπισπάσασθαι, σκαιότητος ὑπερβολὴν οὐκ ἀπολέλοιπεν σὕτως ἔχει τινὰ λόγον τὸ προσιόντα δήμω πρεσβύτην, ἢ Χλίδωνα τὸν γεωργὸν ἢ Λάμπωνα τὸν ναὐκληρον ἢ τινα τῶν ἐκ τοῦ κήπου φιλοσόφων, νουθετῆσαι καὶ κατασχεῖν Ο ἐπὶ τῆς συνήθους ἀπραγμοσύνης ὁ δὲ Φωκίωνος ἢ Κάτωνος ἢ Περικλέους ἐπιλαβόμενος καὶ λέγων "Τὸ ἐξε' 'λθηναῖς ἢ 'Ρωμαῖς.

ἀζαλέφ γήρα κρᾶτ' ἀνθίζων κήδει,''1

γραψάμενος ἀπόλευψιν τῆ πολιτεία καὶ τὰς περὶ τὸ βῆμα καὶ τὸ στρατήγιον ἀφεὶς διατριβὰς καὶ τὰς φροντίδας εἰς ἀγρὸν ἐπείγου σὺν ἀμφιπόλω τῆ γεωργία συνεσόμενος ἢ πρὸς οἰκονομία τινὶ καὶ λογισμοῖς διαθησόμενος τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον,'' ἄδικα πείθει καὶ ἀχάριστα πράττειν τὸν πολιτικόν.

10. Τι οὖν; φήσαι τις ἄν, οὐκ ἀκούομεν ἐν κωμωδία στρατιώτου λέγοντος

λευκή με θρίξ ἀπόμισθον ἐντεῦθεν ποιεῦ:

1 κρᾶτ' ἀνθίζων κήδα Fowler; κατανθίζων κάρα, ήδη Madvig; κρᾶτ' ἀνθίζων ήδη Bernardakis: κατανθίδων.

2 απόλειψιν Junius: απολείψειν.

for old men themselves crack many such jokes on themselves, saying

I'm marrying old, I know—and for my neighbours, too; a so he who thinks that a man who has for a long time shared his life and his home blamelessly with his wife ought on account of his age to dismiss her and live alone or take on a paramour in place of his wedded spouse has reached the height of perversity. There is some sense in admonishing in that way and confining to his accustomed inactivity an old man such as Chlidon the farmer or Lampon the shipcaptain or one of the philosophers of the Garden, if he comes forward for popular favour; but anyone who buttonholes a Phocion or a Cato or a Pericles and says, "My Athenian (or Roman) friend,

With withered age bedecked for funeral rites,º

bring action for divorce from public life, give up your haunting the speakers' platform and the generals' office and your cares of State, and hurry away to the country to dwell with agriculture as your handmaid or to devote the rest of your time to some sort of domestic management and keeping accounts," is urging the statesman to do what is wrong and unseemly.

10. "What then?" someone may say; "do we

not hear a soldier say in a comedy

My white hair grants me henceforth full discharge?" a

i.e. the Epicureans.

· Evidently a line from some tragedy or comedy.

From a comedy of unknown authorship; Kock, Com. Att. Frag. iii, p. 451, no. 225.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Kock, Com. Att. Frag. iii. p. 451, no. 226. Poet and play are unknown.

(789) πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ὦ ἐταῖρε· τοὺς γὰρ "Αρεος θεράποντας ἡβῶν πρέπει καὶ ἀκμάζειν, οἷα δή

πόλεμον πολέμοιό τε μέρμερα ἔργα

D διέποντας, ἐν οἷς τοῦ γέροντος κἂν τὸ κράνος ἀποκρύψη τὰς πολιάς,

άλλά τε λάθρη γυῖα βαρύνεται

καὶ προαπολείπει τῆς προθυμίας ἡ δύναμις τοὺς δὲ τοῦ Βουλαίου καὶ ᾿Αγοραίου καὶ Πολιέως Διὸς ὑπηρέτας οὐ ποδῶν ἔργα καὶ χειρῶν ἀπαιτοῦμεν, ἀλλὰ βουλῆς καὶ προνοίας καὶ λόγου, μὴ ραχίαν ποιοῦντος ἐν δήμω καὶ ψόφον ἀλλὰ νοῦν ἔχοντος καὶ φροντίδα πεπνυμένην καὶ ἀσφάλειαν οἰς ἡ γελωμένη πολιὰ καὶ ρυτὶς ἐμπειρίας μάρτις ἐπιφαίνεται, καὶ πειθοῦς συνεργὸν αὐτῷ καὶ δόξαν τῆθους προστίθησι. πειθαρχικὸν γὰρ ἡ νεότης ἡγερωνικὸν δὲ τὸ γῆρας, καὶ μάλιστα σώζεται πόλις

ένθα βουλαί γερόντων, καὶ νέων ἀνδρῶν ἀριστεύοισιν αἰχμαί:

καὶ τὸ

βουλην δε πρώτον μεγαθύμων ίζε γερόντων Νεστορέη παρά νηὶ

θαυμαστῶς ἐπαινεῖται. διὸ τὴν μὲν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι παραζευχθεῖσαν ἀριστοκρατίαν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ὁ Πύθιος "πρεσβυγενέας" ὁ δὲ Λυκοῦργος ἄντικρυς "γέροντας" ἀνόμασεν, ἡ δὲ Ῥωμαίων

<sup>1</sup> ἀριστεύοισιν Boeckh: ἀριστεύουσιν.

<sup>4</sup> Homer, 11. viii. 453.

Homer, Il. xix. 165.

Certainly, my friend, for the servants of Ares should properly be young and in their prime, as practising

war and war's practices baneful,a

in which even if an old man's hoary hair is covered by a helmet,

Yet are his limbs by unseen weight oppressed,

and though the spirit is willing, the flesh is weak; but from the servants of Zeus, god of the Council, the Market-place, and the State, we do not demand deeds of hands and feet, but of counsel, foresight, and speech—not such speech as makes a roar and a clamour among the people, but that which contains good sense, prudent thought, and conservatism; and in these the hoary hair and the wrinkles that people make fun of appear as witnesses to a man's experience and strengthen him by the aid of persuasiveness and the reputation for character. For youth is meant to obey and old age to rule, and that State is most secure

Where old men's counsels and the young men's spears Hold highest rank  $^{\circ}$ ;

and the lines

First he established a council of old men lofty in spirit Hard by the vessel of Nestor  $^a$ 

meet with wonderful approval. And therefore the Pythian Apollo named the aristocracy which was coupled with the kingship at Lacedaemon "Ancients" (*Presbygeneas*), and Lycurgus named it "Elders" (*Gerontes*), and the council at Rome is

Pindar, Bergk-Schroeder, p. 467, no. 199 (213).
 Homer, Il. ii. 53.

σύγκλητος ἄχρι νῦν " γερουσία" καλεῖται. καὶ καθάπερ ὁ νόμος τὸ διάδημα καὶ τὸν στέφανον, οὕτα τὴν πολιὰν ἡ φύσις ἔντιμον ἡγεμονικοῦ σύμ- Γ βολον ἀξιώματος ἐπιτίθησι· καὶ τὸ " γέρας" ὅμαι καὶ τὸ " γεραίρειν" ὄνομα σεμνὸν ἀπὸ τῶν γερόντων γενόμενον διαμένει, οὐχ ὅτι θερμολουτοῦσι καὶ καθεύδουσι μαλακώτερον, ἀλλ' ὡς βασιλικὴν ἐχόντων τάξω ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι κατὰ τὴν φρόνησιν, ῆς καθάπερ ὀψικάρπου φυτοῦ τὸ οἰκεῖον ἀγαθὸν καὶ τέλειον ἐν γήρα μόλις ἡ φύσις ἀποδίδωσι. τὸν γοῦν βασιλέα τῶν βασιλέων εὐχόμενον τοῖς θεοῖς

τοιοῦτοι δέκα μοι συμφράδμονες εἶεν 'Αχαιῶν,

790 οδος ἢν ὁ Νέστωρ, οὐδεὶς ἐμέμψατο τῶν '' ἀρηίων '' καὶ '' μένεα πνεόντων 'Αχαιῶν,'' ἀλλὰ συνεχώρουν ἄπαντες οὐκ ἐν πολιτεία μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν πολέμω μεγάλην ἔχειν ροπὴν τὸ γῆρας.

σοφὸν γὰρ ἕν βούλευμα τὰς πολλὰς χέρας νικῷ

καὶ μία γνώμη λόγον έχουσα καὶ πειθὼ τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ μέγιστα διαπράττεται τῶν κοινῶν.

11. ᾿Αλλὰ μὴν ἢ γε¹ βασιλεία, τελεωτάτη πασῶν οὖσα καὶ μεγίστη τῶν πολιτειῶν, πλείστας φρουτίδας ἔχει καὶ πόνους καὶ ἀσχολίας τὸν γοῦν Σέλευκον ἐκάστοτε λέγειν ἔφασαν, εἰ γνοῦεν οἱ πολλοὶ τὸ γράφειν μόνον ἐπιστολὰς τοσαύτας καὶ ἀναγινώσκευ ὡς ἐργῶδές ἐστιν, ἐρριμμένον οὐκ ἄν ἀνελέσθαι² διάδημα τὸν δὲ Φίλιππον ἐν καλῷ χωρίῳ

<sup>1</sup> γε Coraes: τε. 2 αν άνελέσθαι Reiske: αν έλέσθαι.

<sup>4</sup> Homer, Il. ii. 372. Agamemnon is the speaker.

still called the Senate ("body of elders"). And just as the law places diadem and crown upon the head, so nature puts grey hair upon it as an honourable symbol of the high dignity of leadership. And the words geras ("honour," also "reward") and gerairein ("venerate") retain, I believe, a meaning of veneration derived from old men (gerontes), not because they bathe in warm water or sleep in softer beds than other men, but because they hold royal rank in the States in accordance with their wisdom, the proper and perfect fruit of which, as of a late-bearing plant, nature produces after long effort in old age. At any rate when the king of kings prayed to the gods:

Would that I had ten such advisers among the Achaeans as Nestor was, not one of the "martial" and "might-breathing Achaeans" found fault with him, but all conceded that, not in civil affairs alone, but in war as well, old age has great weight;

For one wise counsel over many hands Is victor,<sup>b</sup>

and one sensible and persuasive expression of opinion accomplishes the greatest and most excellent public measures.

11. Certainly the office of king, the most perfect and the greatest of all political offices, has the most cares, labours, and occupations. At any rate Seleucus, they used to tell us, constantly repeated that if people in general knew what a task it was merely to read and write so many letters, they would not even pick up a crown that had been thrown away. And Philip, we are told, when he heard, as he was on the

b Euripides, Antiopê, Nauck, Trag. Graec. Frag. p. 419, no. 200.

(790) μέλλοντα καταστρατοπεδεύειν, ώς ἤκουσεν ὅτι χόρτος οὐκ ἔστι τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις " ὧ 'Ηράκλεις,'' εἰπεῖν', " οἶος ἡμῶν ὁ βίος, εἰ καὶ πρὸς τὸν τῶν ὄνων καιρὸν ὀφείλομεν ζῆν.'' ὅρα τοίνυν καὶ βασιλεῖ παραινεῖν πρεσβύτη γεγενημένω τὸ μέν διάδημα καταθέσθαι καὶ τὴν πορφύραν, ἰμάτιον δ' ἀναλαβόντα καὶ καμπύλην ἐν ἀγρῷ διατρίβειν, μὴ δοκῆ περίεργα καὶ ἄωρα πράττειν ἐν πολιαῖς βασιλεύων. εἰ δ' οὐκ ἄξιον ταῦτα λέγειν περὶ Ο' Αγησιλάου καὶ Νομᾶ' καὶ Δαρείου, μηδὲ τῆς ἐξ΄ 'Αρείου πάγου βουλῆς Σόλωνα μηδὲ τῆς συγκλήτου Κάτωνα διὰ τὰ γῆρας ἐξάγωμεν, οὐκοῦν' μηδὲ Περικλεῖ συμβουλεύωμεν ἐγκαταλιπεῖν τὴν δημο-

Περικλεί συμμουπουσμεν εγκάταπεν τήν οιμακρατίαν οὐδε γαρ άλλως λόγον έχει νέον όντα κατασκιρτήσαι τοῦ βήματος, εἶτ ἐκχέαντα τὰς μανικὰς ἐκείνας φιλοτιμίας καὶ ὁρμὰς εἶς τὸ δημόσιον, ὅταν ἡ τὸ φρονεῖν ἐπιφέρουσα δι ἐμπειρίαν ἡλικία παραγένηται, προέσθαι καὶ καταλιπεῖν ὥσ-

περ γυναϊκά την πολιτείαν καταχρησάμενον.

12. 'Η μεν γὰρ Αἰσώπειος ἀλώπηξ τὸν ἐχῖνον οὐκ εἴα τοὺς κρότωνας αὐτῆς ἀφαιρεῖν βουλόμενου. 
D' ἀν γὰρ τούτους,' ἐφη, '' μεστοὺς ἀπαλλάξης, 
ἔτεροι προσίασι πεινῶντες'' τὴν δὲ πολιτείαν ἀεὶ 
τοὺς γέροντας ἀποβάλλουσαν ἀναπίμπλασθαι νέων 
ἀνάγκη διψώντων δόξης καὶ δυνάμεως, νοῦν δὲ 
πολιτικὸν οὐκ ἐχόντων πόθεν γὰρ, εἰ μηδενὸς 
ἔσονται μαθηταὶ μηδὲ θεαταὶ πολιτευρμένου γέ- 
ροντος; ἢ πλοίων μὲν ἄρχοντας οὐ ποιεῖ γράμματα 
κυβερνητικά, μὴ πολλάκις γενομένους ἐν πρύμνη

<sup>1</sup> εἰπεῖν Reiske: εἶπεν.

Noμά Bernardakis: νουμά.
δ οὐκοῦν Bernardakis: οὕκουν.

point of encamping in a suitable place, that there was no fodder for the beasts of draught, exclaimed: "O Heracles, what a life is mine, if I must needs live to suit the convenience oven of my asses!" There is. then, a time to advise even a king when he has become an old man to lay aside the crown and the purple, to assume a cloak and a crook, and to live in the country, lest it be thought, if he continues to rule when his hair is grey, that he is busying himself with superfluous and unseasonable occupations. But if it is not fitting to say this about an Agesilaüs or a Numa or a Dareius, let us neither remove a Solon from the Council of the Areopagus nor a Cato from the Senate on account of old age, and let us not advise a Pericles to leave the democracy in the lurch. For anyhow it is absurd that a man when he is young should prance about upon the platform and then, after having poured out upon the public all those insane ambitions and impulses, when the age arrives which brings wisdom through experience, should give up public life and desert it like a woman of whom he has had all the use.

12. Aesop's fox, we recall, would not let the hedgehog, although he offered to do so, remove the ticks from her: "For if you remove these," she said, "which are full, other hungry ones will come on"; and the State which always discards the old men must necessarily be filled up with young men who are thirsty for reputation and power, but do not possess a statesmanlike mind. And where should they acquire it, if they are not to be pupils or even spectators of any old man active in public life? Treatises on navigation do not make ship-captains of men who have not often stood upon the stern and been spectators

θεατὰς τῶν πρὸς κῦμα καὶ πνεῦμα καὶ νύκτα χειμέριον $^{\rm I}$  ἀγώνων,

ότε Τυνδαριδαν ἀδελφων ἄλιον ναύταν πόθος βάλλει,

πόλιν δὲ μεταχειρίσασθαι καὶ πεῖσαι δῆμον ἢ Ε βουλήν δύναιτ' αν όρθως νέος αναγνούς βίβλον ή σχολήν περί πολιτείας εν Λυκείω γραψάμενος, αν μή παρ' ήνίαν καὶ παρ' οἴακα πολλάκις στὰς δημαγωγών καὶ στρατηγών άγωνιζομένων έμπειρίαις αμα καὶ τύχαις συναποκλίνων ἐπ' ἀμφότερα, μετά κινδύνων καὶ πραγμάτων λάβη τὴν μάθησιν; ούκ έστιν είπεῖν άλλ' εί διὰ μηδὲν άλλο τῷ γέροντι παιδείας ένεκα των νέων καί διδασκαλίας πολιτευτέον ἐστίν. ὡς γὰρ οἱ γράμματα καὶ μουσικήν διδάσκοντες, αὐτοὶ προανακρούονται καὶ προανα-F γινώσκουσιν ύφηγούμενοι τοῖς μανθάνουσιν, οὕτως ό πολιτικός οὐ λέγων μόνον οὐδ' ὑπαγορεύων έξωθεν άλλα πράττων τα κοινά και διοικών έπευθύνει τὸν νέον, ἔργοις ἄμα καὶ λόγοις πλαττόμενον εμψύχως και κατασχηματιζόμενον. δ γάρ τοθτον ἀσκηθεὶς τὸν τρόπον οὐκ ἐν παλαίστραις καὶ κηρώμασιν ἀκινδύνοις εὐρύθμων σοφιστῶν, άλλ' ως άληθως ἐν 'Ολυμπιακοῖς καὶ Πυθικοῖς άγῶσιν

άθηλος ἵππω πωλος ως άμα τρέχει

κατὰ Σιμωνίδην, ώς 'Αριστείδης Κλεισθένει καὶ 791 Κίμων 'Αριστείδη καὶ Φωκίων Χαβρία καὶ Κάτων

<sup>1</sup> χειμέριον Reiske: χειμερίων.

Castor and Pollux, who were supposed to aid sailors.
 Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Graec. iii. p. 719, no. 91.

of the struggles against wind and wave and wintry night,

When yearning for the twin Tyndaridae a Doth strike the sailor driven o'er the sea; b

and can a youngster manage a State rightly and persuade an assembly or a senate after reading a book or writing in the Lyceum a school exercise about political science, if he has not stood many a time by the driver's rein or the pilot's steering-oar. leaning this way and that with the politicians and generals as they contend with the aid of their experiences and their fortunes, thus amid dangers and troubles acquiring the knowledge they need? No one can assert that. But if for no other reason. old men should engage in affairs of State for the education and instruction of the young. For just as the teachers of letters or of music themselves first play the notes or read to their pupils and thus show them the way, so the statesman, not only by speech or by making an agentions from outside, but by action in chairistering he affairs of the community, directs the young man, whose character is moulded and formed by the old man's actions and words alike. For he who is trained in this way-not in the wrestlingschools or training-rings of masters of the arts of graceful speech where no danger is, but, we may say, in truly Olympic and Pythian games,-

Keeps pace as foal just weaned runs with the mare, at to quote Simonides. So Aristeides ran in the footsteps of Cleisthenes and Cimon in those of Aristeides, Phocion followed Chabrias, Cato had Fabius Maximus

d Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Graec. ii. p. 445, no. 5 (6).

Aristophanes. Knights 542, uses the metaphor of the pilot, though with a different application.

(791) Μαξίμω Φαβίω καὶ Σύλλα Πομπήιος καὶ Φιλοποίμενι Πολύβιος· νέοι γὰρ ὅντες πρεσβυτέροις ἐπιβάλλοντες, εθθ οἶον παραβλαστάνοντες καὶ συνεξανιστάμενοι ταῖς ἐκείνων πολιτείαις καὶ πράξεσιν, ἐμπειρίαν καὶ συνήθειαν ἐκτῶντο πρὸς τὰ κοιγὰ μετὰ δόξης καὶ δυνάμεως.

13. 'Ο μέν οδν 'Ακαδημαϊκός Αλσχίνης, σοφιστών τινων λεγόντων ότι προσποιείται γεγονέναι Καρνεάδου μὴ γεγονώς μαθητής, " άλλὰ τότε γ'," είπεν, " έγω Καρνεάδου διήκουον, ότε την ραχίαν Β καὶ τὸν ψόφον ἀφεικώς ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ διὰ τὸ νῆρας είς το χρήσιμον συνήκτο καὶ κοινωνικόν " της δέ πρεσβυτικής πολιτείας οὐ τῷ λόγω μόνον ἀλλά καὶ ταις πράξεσιν απηλλαγμένης πανηγυρισμού και δοξοκοπίας, ώσπερ την Γριν λέγουσιν όταν παλαιά γενομένη το βρομωδες αποπνεύση και θολερον εὐωδέστερον τὸ ἀρωματικὸν ἴσχειν, οὕτως οὐδέν έστι δόγμα γεροντικόν οὐδὲ βούλευμα τεταραγμένον άλλ' έμβριθη πάντα και καθεστώτα. διό και των νέων ένεκα δεί, καθάπερ είρηται, πολιτεύεσθαι τον πρεσβύτην, ΐνα, δυ τρόπου φησί Πλάτων ἐπί τοῦ μιγνυμένου πρός ὕδωρ ἀκράτου, μαινόμενον Ο θεον έτέρω θεώ νήφοντι σωφρονίζεσθαι κολαζόμενον, ούτως εὐλάβεια γεροντική κεραννυμένη προς ζέουσαν ἐν δήμω νεότητα, βακχεύουσαν ὑπὸ δόξης καὶ φιλοτιμίας, ἀφαιρη τὸ μανικὸν καὶ λίαν ἄκρατον.

14. "Ανευ δε τούτων αμαρτάνουσιν οι οίον2 τὸ

¹ tριν Coraes: ἴβιν.
² oi olov Jannot, Junius, Reiske: οί.

as his guide, Pompey had Sulla, and Polybius had Philopoemen; for these men, coming when young in contact with older men and then, as it were, sprouting up beside them and growing up with their policies and actions, gained experience and familiarity with public affairs and at the same time reputation and

power.

13. Aeschines the Academic philosopher, when some sophists declared that he pretended to have been a pupil of Carneades although he had not been so, replied, "Oh, but I did listen to Carneades at the time when his speech had given up noisy declamation on account of his old age and had reduced itself to what is useful and of common interest." But the public activity of old men is not only in speech but also in actions, free from ostentation and desire for popularity, and, therefore, just as they say that the iris, when it has grown old and has blown off its fetid and foul smell, acquires a more fragrant odour, so no opinion or counsel of old men is turbulent, but they are all weighty and composed. Therefore it is also for the sake of the young, as has been said above. that old men ought to engage in affairs of State, in order that, as Plato said a in reference to pure wine mixed with water, that an insane god was made reasonable when chastised by another who was sober, so the discretion of old age, when mixed in the people with boiling youth drunk with reputation and ambition, may remove that which is insane and too violent. 14. But apart from all this, they are mistaken who

a Plato, Laws, 773 D. He refers to Dionysus (wine) and Poscidon (water).

(791) πλεθσαι καὶ τὸ στρατεύσασθαι, τοιοῦτον ἡγούμενοι καὶ τὸ πολιτεύσασθαι πρὸς ἄλλο τι¹ πραττόμενον, εἶτα καταλῆγον ἐν τῷ τιχεῖν ἐκείνου· λειτουργία γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν ἡ πολιτεία τὴν χρείαν ἔχουσα πέρας, ἀλλὰ βίος ἡμέρου καὶ πολιτικοῦ καὶ κοινωνικοῦ ζῷου καὶ πεφυκότος ὅσον χρὴ χρόνον πολιτικῶς καὶ φιλοκάλως καὶ φιλανθρώπως ζῆν. διὸ πολιτεύεσθαι καθήκόν ἐστιν οὐ πεπολιτεῦσθαι, καθάπερ ἀληθεύειν οὐκ ἀληθεῦσαι καὶ δικαιοπραγεῖν οὐ δικαιοπραγῆσαι καὶ φιλεῖν οὐ φιλῆσαι τὴν πατρίδα D καὶ τοὺς πολίτας ἔπὶ ταῦτα γὰρ ἡ φύσις ἄγει, καὶ ταύτας ὑπαγορεύει τὰς φωνὰς τοῖς μὴ διεφθορόσι τελείως ὑπὶ ἀργίας καὶ μαλακίας·

πολλοῦ σε θνητοῖς ἄξιον τίκτει πατήρ

μή τι παυσώμεσθα δρώντες εδ βροτούς.

15. Οἱ δὲ τὰς ἀρρωστίας προβαλλόμενοι καὶ τὰς ἀδυναμίας νόσου καὶ πηρώσεως μᾶλλον ἢ γήρως κατηγοροῦσι· καὶ γὰρ νέοι πολλοὶ νοσώδεις καὶ βωμαλέοι γέροντες· ὥστε δεῦ μὴ τοὺς γέροντας ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἀδυνάτους ἀποτρέπευν, μηδὲ τοὺς νέους Ε παρακαλεῦν ἀλλὰ τοὺς δυναμένους. καὶ γὰρ καὶ ᾿Αριδαῖος ἢν νέος γέρων δ' ᾿Αντίγονος, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἄπασαν ὀλίγου δεῦν κατεκτήσατο τὴν ᾿Ασίαν, ὁ δ' ὥσπερ ἐπὶ σκηγῆς δορυφόρημα κωφὰς ἢν ὄνομα

¹ ἄλλο τι Reiske: ἄλλα. ² μή τι Meziriacus: μήτε.

καὶ

 $<sup>^</sup>a$  Cf. Aristotle, Politics, i. 2, where man is called a social (πολιτικόν) animal.

think that engaging in public affairs is, like going to sea or to a war, something undertaken for an object distinct from itself and ceasing when that object is attained; for engaging in public affairs is not a special service which is ended when the need ends. but is a way of life of a tamed social animal a living in an organized society, intended by nature to live throughout its allotted time the life of a citizen and in a manner devoted to honour and the welfare of mankind. Therefore it is fitting that men should be engaged, not merely have ceased to be engaged. in affairs of State, just as it is fitting that they should be, not have ceased to be, truthful, that they should do, not have ceased to do, right, and that they should love, not have ceased to love, their native land and their fellow-citizens. For to these things nature leads, and these words she suggests to those who are not entirely ruined by idleness and effeminacy:

Your sire begets you of great worth to men  $^{\mathfrak{b}}$  and

Let us ne'er cease from doing mortals good.b

15. But those who adduce weakness and disability are accusing disease and infirmity rather than old age. For there are many sickly young men and vigorous old men, so that the proper course is to dissuade, not the aged, but the disabled, and to summon into service, not the young, but those who are competent to serve. Aridaeus, for example, was young and Antigonus an old man, but the latter gained possession of almost all Asia, whereas the former, like a mute guardsman on the stage, was

<sup>5</sup> Nauck, Trag. Graec. Frag. p. 917, adespota no. 410 quoted also Moralia, 1099 A.

βασιλέως καὶ πρόσωπον ύπὸ τῶν ἀεὶ κρατούντων παροινούμενον, ώσπερ οὖν ὁ Πρόδικον τὸν σοφιστην η Φιλήταν τον ποιητην αξιών πολιτεύεσθαι. νέους μεν ζαγγούς δε καὶ νοσώδεις καὶ τὰ πολλά κλινοπετείς δι' άρρωστίαν όντας, άβέλτερός έστιν ούτως ό κωλύων άρχειν καὶ στρατηγείν τοιούτους νέροντας, οίος ήν Φωκίων οίος ήν Μασανάσσης ό Λίβυς οδος Κάτων ο 'Ρωμαΐος. ο μεν ναρ Φωκίων, ώρμημένων πολεμείν ακαίρως των 'Αθηναίων. Ε παρήγγειλε τους άχρι έξήκοντ' έτων ακολουθείν οπλα λαβόντας ώς δ' ήγανάκτουν, "οὐδέν," έφη, " δεινόν έγω γὰρ ἔσομαι μεθ' ύμων ὁ στρατηγὸς ὑπὲρ ὀγδοήκοντ' ἔτη γεγονώς." Μασανάσσην δ' ίστορεί Πολύβιος ένενήκοντα μέν έτων αποθανείν, τετράετες καταλιπόντα παιδάριον έξ αὐτοῦ γεγενημένον, δλίγω δ' έμπροσθεν της τελευτης μάχη 792 νικήσαντα μεγάλη Καρχηδονίους οφθήναι τή ύστεραία πρό της σκηνης ρυπαρόν άρτον ἐσθίοντα, καὶ πρός τους θαυμάζοντας είπεῖν, ὅτι τοῦτο ποιεῖ²

λάμπει γὰρ ἐν χρείαισιν ὥσπερ εὐπρεπής χαλκός· χρόνῳ δ' ἀργῆσαν ἤμυσε στέγος,

ως φησι Σοφοκλής· ως δ' ήμεῖς φαμεν, ἐκεῖνο τής ψυχής τὸ γάνωμα καὶ τὸ φέγγος, ῷ λογιζόμεθα καὶ μνημονεύομεν καὶ φρονοῦμεν.

16. Διό καὶ τοὺς βασιλεῖς φασι γίγνεσθαι βελτίονας εν τοῖς πολέμοις καὶ ταῖς στρατείαις ἢ

<sup>1</sup> γενενημένον Bernardakis: γεγεννημένον.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> ποιεί] Reiske marks a gap here. Bernardakis supplies διὰ τὴν ἐξω (or διὰ τὸ πονεῦν) ἀεὶ, referring to Cicero, Cato Major, chap. x.

the mere name and figure of a king, exposed to the wanton insults of those who happened to have the real power. As, therefore, he is a fool who would demand that a person like Prodicus the sophist or a person like Philetas the poet should take part in the affairs of State, they who were young, to be sure, but thin, sickly, and for the most part bedridden on account of sickness,-so he is foolish who would hinder from being rulers or generals such old men as were Phocion, the Libyan Masinissa, and the Roman Cato. For Phocion, when the Athenians were rushing into war at an unfavourable time, gave orders that all citizens up to sixty years of age should take their weapons and follow him; and when they were indignant he said: "There is nothing terrible about it, for I shall be with you as general, and I am eighty years old." And Polybius tells us that Masinissa died at the age of ninety years, leaving a child of his own but four years old, and that a little before his end, on the day after defeating the Carthaginians in a great battle, he was seen in front of his tent eating a dirty piece of bread, and that when some expressed surprise at this he said that he did it [to keep in practice],

For when in use it gleams like beauteous bronze ; An unused house through time in ruin falls,  $^a$ 

as Sophocles says; but we say that this is true of that brilliance and light of the soul, by means of which we reason, remember, and think.

16. For that reason kings are said to grow better among wars and campaigns than when they live at

a Nauck, Trag. Grasc. Frag. p. 314, no. 780; cf. Moralia, 792 A, 1129 c.

(792) σχολήν ἄγοντας. "Ατταλον γοῦν τὸν Εὐμένους1 Β ἀδελφόν, ὑπ' ἀργίας μακρᾶς καὶ εἰρήνης ἐκλυθέντα κομιδή, Φιλοποίμην είς των έταίρων έποίμαινεν άτεχνῶς πιαινόμενον ώστε καὶ τοὺς 'Ρωμαίους παίζοντας έκάστοτε διαπυνθάνεσθαι παρά των έξ 'Λσίας πλεόντων, εἰ δύναται παρὰ τῷ Φιλοποίμενι βασιλεύς. Λευκόλλου δε 'Ρωμαίων ου πολλούς αν τις ευροι δεινοτέρους στρατηγούς, ότε τῶ πράττειν τὸ φρονείν συνείχεν ἐπεὶ δὲ μεθήκεν ἐαυτὸν εἰς βίον ἄπρακτον καὶ δίαιταν οἰκουρον καὶ ἄφροντιν, ώσπερ οἱ σπόγγοι ταῖς γαλήναις ἐννεκρωθεὶς καὶ καταμαρανθείς, είτα Καλλισθένει τινὶ τῶν ἀπελευ-Ο θόρων βόσκειν καὶ τιθασεύειν παρέχων τὸ γῆρας, έδόκει καταφαρμακεύεσθαι φίλτροις ύπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ γοητεύμασιν, ἄχρι οὖ Μάρκος ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἀπελάσας τὸν ἄνθρωπον αὐτὸς ὠκονόμει καὶ ἐπαιδαγώγει τὸν λοιπόν αὐτοῦ βίον, οὖ πολύν γενόμενον. ἀλλὰ Δαρείος ὁ Εέρξου πατήρ έλεγεν αὐτός αύτοῦ παρά τὰ δεινά γίγνεσθαι φρονιμώτερος, ό δε Σκύθης 'Ατέας μηδέν οἴεσθαι τῶν ἱπποκόμων διαφέρειν ἐαυτόν, ότε σχολάζοι. Διονύσιος δ' ό πρεσβύτερος πρός τον πυθόμενον εἰ σχολάζοι "μηδέποτ", εἶπεν, "εἰμοὶ τοῦτο συμβαίη." τόξον μὲν γάρ, ως φασιν, επι-D τεινόμενον ρήγνυται, ψυχή δ' ἀνιεμένη. καὶ γὰρ άρμονικοί το κατακούειν ήρμοσμένου καὶ γεωμέτραι τὸ ἀναλύειν καὶ ἀριθμητικοὶ τὴν ἐν τῷ λογίζεσθαι συνέχειαν έκλιπόντες αμα ταις ένεργείαις αμαυρούσι ταις ήλικίαις τὰς έξεις, καίπερ οὐ πρακτικάς άλλά θεωρητικάς τέχνας έχοντες ή δὲ τῶν πολιτικῶν

Εὐμένους Coraes: εὐμενοῦς.
 σχολάζοι Moralia, 176 A: σχολάζει.

leisure. Attalus certainly, the brother of Eumenes. because he was completely enfeebled by long inactivity and peace, was actually kept and fattened like a sheep by Philopoemen, one of his courtiers; so that even the Romans used in jest to ask those who came from Asia if the king had any influence with Philopoemen. And it would be impossible to find many abler generals among the Romans than Lucullus, when he combined thought with action: but when he gave himself up to a life of inactivity and to a home-keeping and thought-free existence, he became a wasted skeleton, like sponges in calm seas, and then when he committed his old age to the care and nursing of one of his freedmen named Callisthenes, it seemed as if he were being drugged by him with potions and quackeries, until his brother Marcus drove the fellow away and himself managed and tended him like a child the rest of his life, which was not long. Dareius the father of Xerxes used to say that when dangers threatened he excelled himself in wisdom, a and Ateas the Scythian said that he considered himself no better than his grooms when he was idle; and Dionysius the Elder, when someone asked if he was at leisure, replied: "May that never happen to me!" For a bow, they say, breaks when too tightly stretched, but a soul when too much relaxed. In fact musicians, if they give up listening to music, and geometricians if they give up solving problems, and arithmeticians if they give they advance up the practice of in age, their habit neir activities. although the studies which they pursue are not concerned with action but with contemplation; but the

(792) ἔξις, εὐβουλία καὶ φρόνησις καὶ δικαιοσύνη, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἐμπειρία στοχαστική καιρῶν καὶ λόγων, πειθοῦς δημιουργὸς δύναμις οὖσα, τῷ λέγειν ἀεί τι καὶ πράττειν καὶ λογίζεσθαι καὶ δικάζειν συνέχεται καὶ δεινόν, εἰ τούτων ἀποδρᾶσα περιόψεται τηλικαύτας ἀρετὰς καὶ το ἀπομαραίνες Ε καὶ γὰρ τὸ ψιλάνθρωπον εἰκός ἐστιν ἀπομαραίνεσθαι καὶ τὸ κοινωνικὸν καὶ τὸ εὐχάριστον, ὧν

οὐδεμίαν είναι δεῖ τελευτήν οὐδὲ πέρας.

17. Εὶ γοῦν πατέρα τὸν Τιθωνὸν εἰχες, ἀθάνατον μὲν ὅντα χρείαν δ' ἔχοντα διὰ γῆρας ἀεὶ πολλῆς ἐπιμελείας, οὐκ ὰν οἰμαί σε φυγεῖν οὐδ' ἀπείπασθαι τὸ θεραπεύειν καὶ προσαγορεύειν καὶ βοηθεῖν ὡς λελειτουργηκότα πολὺν χρόνον· ἡ δὲ πατρὶς καὶ μητρὶς ὡς Κρῆτες καλοῦσι, πρεαβύτερα καὶ μείζονα Ε δίκαια γονέων ἔχουσα, πολυχρόνιος μέν ἐστιν οὐ μὴν ἀγήρως οὐδ' αὐτάρκης, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ πολυωρίας δεομένη καὶ βοηθείας καὶ φροντίδος ἐπισπᾶται καὶ δεσμένι τὸν πολιτικὸν

είανοῦ άπτομένη καί τ' ἐσσύμενον κατερύκει.

Καὶ μὴν οἰσθά με τῷ Πυθίῳ λειτουργοῦντα πολλάς Πυθιάδας ἀλλ' οὐκ ἄν εἴποις '' ἰκανά σοι, ἃ Πλούταρχε, τέθυται καὶ πεπόμπευται καὶ κεχόρευται, νῦν δ' ὧρα πρεσβύτερον ὄντα τὸν στέφανον ἀποθέσθαι καὶ τὸ χρηστήριον ἀπολιπεῖν διὰ τὸ γῆρας.'' οὐκοῦν μηδὲ σεαυτὸν οἴου δεῖν, τῶν πολιτικῶν ἱερῶν ἔξαρχον ὄντα καὶ προφήτην, ἀφεῖναι τὰς τοῦ

a Homer, Il. xvi. 9.

b Periods of four years marked by the quadrennial celebration of the Pythian games in honour of Apollo at Delphi.
126

mental habit of public men—deliberation, wisdom, and justice, and, besides these, experience, which hits upon the proper moments and words and is the power that creates persuasion—is maintained by constantly speaking, acting, reasoning, and judging; and it would be a crime if, by deserting these activities, it should allow such great and so many virtues to leak out from the soul; for it is reasonable to suppose that love of humanity, public spirit, and graciousness would waste away, none of which ought to have any end or limit.

17. Certainly if you had Tithonus as your father, who was immortal but always needed much care on account of old age, I do not believe you would avoid or grow weary of attending to him, speaking to him, and helping him on the ground that you had performed those duties for a long time; and your fatherland or, as the Cretans call it, your mother country, which has earlier and greater rights than your parents, is long lived, to be sure, but by no means ageless or self-sufficient; on the contrary, since it always needs much consideration and assistance and anxious thought, it draws the statesman to itself and holds him.

Grasping him fast by the cloak, and restrains him though hastening onward.

Now surely you know that I have been serving the Pythian Apollo for many Pythiads, but you would not say: "Plutarch, you have done enough sacrification in choruses,

put off the

garland and to desert the oracle on account of your age." And so do not imagine that you yourself, being a leader and interpreter of the sacred rites of

Πολιέως καὶ 'Αγοραίου τιμὰς Διός, ἔκπαλαι κατωονιασιένον αὐταῖς.

793 18. 'Αλλ' ἀφέντες, εἰ βούλει, τὸν ἀποσπῶντα της πολιτείας λόγον εκείνο σκοπώμεν ήδη και φιλοσοφωμεν, όπως μηδέν άπρεπές μηδέ βαρύ τω γήρα προσάξωμεν άγώνισμα, πολλά μέρη της πολιτείας έχούσης άρμόδια καὶ πρόσφορα τοῖς τηλικούτοις. ώσπερ γάρ, εί καθήκον ήν άδοντας διατελείν, έδει, πολλών τόνων καὶ τρόπων ὑποκειμένων φωνῆς, οὖς. άρμονίας οί μουσικοί καλούσι, μή τον όξυν άμα καὶ σύντονον διώκειν γέροντας γενομένους, άλλ' έν ῶ τὸ ράδιον ἔπεστι μετὰ τοῦ πρέποντος ήθους. Β ούτως, ἐπεὶ τὸ πράττειν καὶ λέγειν μαλλον ἀνθρώποις η κύκνοις τὸ ἄδειν ἄχρι τελευτής κατά φύσιν έστιν, οὐκ ἀφετέον τὴν πρᾶξιν ώσπερ τινὰ λύραν σύντονον, άλλ' ανετέον έπὶ τὰ κοῦφα καὶ μέτρια καὶ προσωδὰ πρεσβύταις πολιτεύματα μεθαρμοττομένους, οὐδὲ γὰρ τὰ σώματα παντελώς ἀκίνητα καὶ ἀγύμναστα περιορώμεν, ὅτε μὴ δυνάμεθα σκαφείοις μηδ' άλτηροι χρησθαι μηδέ δισκεύειν μηδ' όπλομαχεῖν ώς καὶ πρότερον, άλλ' αἰώραις καὶ περιπάτοις, ένιοι δὲ καὶ σφαίρα προσπαλαίοντες έλαφρώς και διαλεγόμενοι κινούσι το πνεύμα και Ο το θερμόν αναρριπίζουσι μήτε δή τελέως έκπαγέντας έαυτούς καὶ καταψυχθέντας ἀπραξία περιίδωμεν μήτ' αδ πάλιν πάσαν άρχην ἐπαιρόμενοι καὶ παντός ἐπιδραττόμενοι πολιτεύματος ἀναγκάζωμεν

civic life, ought to give up the worship of Zeus of the State and of the Forum, rites to which you have for

a long time been consecrated.

18. But let us now, if you please, leave the argument which tries to withdraw the aged man from civic activities and turn to the examination and discussion of the question how we may assign to old age only what is appropriate without imposing upon it any burdensome struggle, since political activity has many parts fitting and suitable for men of such years. For just as, if it were fitting for us to continue singing to the end, we ought, since there are many underlying tones and modes of the voice, which musical people call harmonies, we ought, I say, when we have grown old, not to attempt that which is at once high pitched and intense, but that which is easy and also possesses the fitting ethical quality; just so, since it is more natural for human beings to act and speak to the end than for swans to sing, we must not give up activity as if it were a lyre too tightly strung, but we should relax the activity and adapt it to those public services which are light and moderate and attuned to old men. For we do not let our bodies be entirely without motion and exercise when we are unable to wield the mattock or use jumping-weights or throw the discus or fight in armour as we used to do, but by swinging and walking, and in some instances by light ball-playing and by conversation, old men accelerate their breathing and revive the body's heat. Let us, then, neither allow ourselves to be entirely frozen and chilled by inaction nor, on the other hand, by again burdening ourselves with every office and engaging in every kind of public

793) τὸ γῆρας ἐξελεγχόμενον ἐπὶ τοιαύτας φωνὰς καταφέρεσθαι

ὧ δεξιὰ χείρ, ὡς ποθεῖς λαβεῖν δόρυ ἐν δ' ἀσθενεία τὸν πόθον διώλεσας.
οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀκμάζων καὶ δυνάμενος ἀνὴρ ἐπαινεῖται,

πάντα συλλήβδην άνατιθείς έαυτω τὰ κοινὰ πράγ-Τι ματα καὶ μηδὲν έτέρω παριέναι βουλόμενος, ώσπερ οί Στωικοί τὸν Δία λένουσιν, εἰς πάντα παρενείρων καὶ πᾶσι καταμιννύς ξαυτόν ἀπληστία δόξης ή φθόνω των μεταλαμβανόντων άμωσγέπως τιμής τινος έν τη πόλει και δυνάμεως πρεσβύτη δέ κομιδή, καν τὸ ἄδοξον ἀφέλης, ἐπίπονος καὶ ταλαίπωρος ή πρός παν μέν ἀεὶ κληρωτήριον ἀπαντώσα φιλαρχία, παντί δ' έφεδρεύουσα δικαστηρίου καιρώ καί συνεδρίου πολυπραγμοσύνη, πάσαν δέ Ε πρεσβείαν καὶ προδικίαν ύφαρπάζουσα φιλοτιμία. καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα πράττειν καὶ μετ' εὐνοίας βαρύ παρ' ήλικίαν, συμβαίνει δέ γε τάναντία μισοθνται μέν γάρ ύπὸ τῶν νέων, ώς οὐ προϊέμενοι πράξεων αὐτοῖς ἀφορμὰς μηδ' εἰς μέσον ἐῶντες προελθεῖν, άδοξει δέ παρά τοις άλλοις το φιλόπρωτον αὐτῶν καὶ φίλαργον οὐχ ήττον η τὸ φιλόπλουτον έτέρων γερόντων και φιλήδονον.

19. "Ωσπερ οδυ του Βουκέφαλου ο 'Αλέξαυδρος πρεσβύτερου όντα μη βουλόμενος πιέζειν έτέροις επωχείτο προ της μάχης ἵπποις, εφοδεύων την

Euripides, Herc. Fur. 269.

b The Stoic doctrine of the infinite variety of Zeus and his activities is beautifully expressed in the hymn to Zeus by 130

activity, force our old age, convicted of its weakness, to descend to words like these:

O my right hand, thou yearn'st to seize the spear, But weakness brings thy yearning all to naught.

For even a man at the height of his powers is not commended if he takes upon himself, in a word, all public activities at once and is unwilling to leave, as the Stoics say of Zeus, b anything to anyone else, intruding and mixing himself in everything through insatiable desire for reputation or through envy of those who obtain any share whatsoever of honour and power in the State. But for a very aged man that love of office which invariably offers itself as a candidate at every election, that busy restlessness which lies in wait for every opportunity offered by court of justice or council of State, and that ambition which snatches at every ambassadorship and at every precedence in legal matters, are, even if you eliminate the discredit attached to them, toilsome and miserable. For to do these things even with the goodwill of others is too burdensome for advanced age, but, in fact, the result is the very opposite; for such old men are hated by the young, who feel that they do not allow them opportunities for public activity and do not permit them to come before the public, and by people in general their love of precedence and of office is held in no less disrepute than is other old men's love of wealth and pleasure.

19. And just as Alexander, wishing not to work Bucephalus too hard when he was old, used to ride other horses before the battle in reviewing the Cleanthes, Stobaeus, Ecl. i. 1. 12, p. 25 cd. Wachsmuth; A. C. Pearson, The Fragments of Zeno and Cleanthes, p. 274;

cf. Diogenes Laertius, vii. 147.

φάλαγγα καὶ καθιστὰς εἰς τὴν τάξιν, εἶτα δούς τὸ F σύνθημα καὶ μεταβάς ἐπ' ἐκείνον εὐθὺς ἐπῆγε τοῖς πολεμίοις και διεκινδύνευεν ούτως ο πολιτικός, αν έχη νοῦν, αὐτὸς αύτὸν ήνιοχῶν πρεσβύτην γενόμενον αφέξεται των οὐκ αναγκαίων καὶ παρήσει τοις ακμάζουσι χρησθαι πρός τὰ μικρότερα την πόλιν, έν δε τοις μεγάλοις αὐτος άγωνιείται προθύμως, οί μεν γάρ άθληται τὰ σώματα τῶν ἀναγκαίων πόνων ἄθικτα τηροῦσι καὶ ἀκέραια πρὸς τοὺς άχρήστους ήμεις δε τουναντίον, εωντες τά μικρά και φαθλα, τοις άξίοις σπουδής φυλάξομεν έαυτούς. '' νέω'' μὲν γὰρ ἴσως '' ἐπέοικε '' καθ' "Ομηρον '' πάντα,'' καὶ δέχονται καὶ ἀγαπῶσι τὸν μὲν μικρά καὶ πολλά πράττοντα δημοτικόν καὶ φιλό-794 πονον τον δέ<sup>3</sup> λαμπρά καὶ σεμνά γενναΐον καὶ μεναλόφρονα καλούντες έστι δ' όπου καὶ τὸ φιλόνεικον καὶ παράβολον ώραν έχει τινὰ καὶ χάριν ἐπιπρέπουσαν τοῖς τηλικούτοις. ὁ πρεσβύτης δ' άνηρ εν πολιτεία διακονικάς λειτουργίας ύπομένων. οία τελών πράσεις και λιμένων επιμελείας και άγορας, έτι δὲ πρεσβείας καὶ ἀποδημίας πρὸς ήγεμόνας καὶ δυνάστας ὑποτρέχων, ἐν αίς ἀναγκαῖον ούδεν ούδε σεμνόν ενεστιν άλλα θεραπεία και τό πρός χάριν, ἐμοὶ μὲν οἰκτρόν, ὧ φίλε, φαίνεται καὶ άζηλον, έτέροις δ' ίσως καὶ ἐπαχθὲς φαίνεται καὶ φορτικόν.

Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐν ἀρχαῖς τὸν τηλικοῦτον ὥρα
 Β φέρεσθαι, πλὴν ὅσαι γε μέγεθός τι κέκτηνται καὶ

<sup>1</sup> δέχονται Wyttenbach: ἔχονται,
2 τον μεν . . . τον δε Wyttenbach: τὰ μεν . . . τὰ δε.
3 ἐπαχθές] ἀπαχθές, "detestable," Capps.

phalanx and drawing it up in line, and then, after giving ' · · · him, immediately the battle to its charge end: so the statesman, if he is sensible, will curb himself when he has grown old, will keep away from unnecessary activities and allow the State to employ men in their prime for lesser matters, but in important affairs will himself take part vigorously. athletes keep their bodies untouched by necessary tasks and in full force for useless toils, but we, on the contrary, letting petty and worthless matters go, will save ourselves for things that are seriously worth while. For perhaps, as Homer says," "to a young man everything is becoming," and people accept and love him, calling the one who does many little things a friend of the common folk and hardworking, and the one who does brilliant and splendid things noble and high-minded; and under some conditions even contentiousness and rashness have a certain timeliness and grace becoming to men of that age. But the old man in public life who undertakes subordinate services, such as the farming of taxes and the supervision of harbours and of the market-place, and who moreover works his way into diplomatic missions and trips abroad to visit commanders and potentates, in which there is nothing indispensable or dignified, but which are merely flattery to curry favour, seems to me, my friend, a pitiable and unenviable object, and to some people, perhaps, a burdensome and vulgar one.

20. For it is not seasonable for an aged man even to be occupied in public offices, except in those which possess some grandeur and dignity, such as that

<sup>4</sup> Homer, Il. xxii. 71.

(794) ἀξίωμα· καθάπερ ἣν σὺ νῦν ᾿Αθήνησι μεταχειρίζη της έξ 'Αρείου πάγου βουλης επιστασίαν καὶ νη Δία τό πρόσχημα της 'Αμφικτυονίας, ην σοι διά τοῦ βίου παντὸς ή πατρὶς ἀνατέθεικε " πόνον ήδὺν κάματόν τ' εὐκάματον '' έγουσαν. δεῖ δὲ καὶ ταύτας μη διώκειν τὰς τιμὰς ἀλλὰ φεύγοντας ἄρχειν, μηδ' αἰτουμένους ἀλλὰ παραιτουμένους, μηδ' ώς αὐτοῖς τὸ ἄρχειν λαμβάνοντας άλλ' ώς αύτους τῷ ἄρχειν έπιδιδόντας. οὐ γάρ, ώς Τιβέριος ὁ Καΐσαρ ἔλεγε, Ο τὸ τὴν γείρα τῶ ἰατρῶ προτείνειν ὑπὲρ ἐξήκοντ' έτη γεγονότας αἰσχρόν ἐστιν, άλλά μᾶλλον το την γείρα τω δήμω προτείνειν ψήφον αιτούντας ή φωνήν άρχαιρεσιάζουσαν άγεννες γάρ τοῦτο καί ταπεινόν ως τουναντίον έχει τινά σεμνότητα καί κόσμον, αίρουμένης της πατρίδος και καλούσης καί περιμενούσης, κατιόντα μετά τιμής και φιλοφροσύνης γεραρόν ώς άληθως καὶ περίβλεπτον ἀσπάσασθαι καὶ δεξιώσασθαι τὸ γέρας. 21. Ούτω δέ πως καὶ λόγω χρηστέον ἐν ἐκκλησία πρεσβύτην γενόμενον, μη ἐπιπηδώντα

κλησιά πρεσρυτην γενομενον, μη επιπησωντα συνεχώς τώ βήματι μηδ' ἀεὶ δίκην ἀλεκτρυόνος ἀντάδοντα τοῖς φθεγγομένοις, μηδὲ τῷ συμπλέκεσθαι καὶ διερεθίζειν ἀποχαλινοῦντα τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν D αίδὰ τῶν νέων μηδὲ μελέτην ἐμποιοῦντα καὶ συνήθειαν ἀπειθείας καὶ δυσηκοΐας, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρειέντα ποτὲ καὶ διόντα πρὸς δόξαν ἀναχαιτίσαι καὶ θρασύνασθαι, μηδὲ παρόντα μηδὲ πολυπραγμονοῦντα, ὅπου μὴ μέγα τὸ κινδυνευόμενόν ἐστι

<sup>1</sup> θρασύνασθαι Coraes: θρασύνεσθαι.

Cf. Euripides, Bacch. 66.
 i.e. for medical assistance.

which you are now administering at Athens, the presidency of the Senate of the Areopagus, and, by Zeus, the honour of membership in the Amphictyonic Council, which your native State bestowed upon you for life and which entails " a pleasant labour and untoilsome toil." a But even these offices aged men ought not to seek; they should exercise them though trying to avoid them, not asking for them but asking to be excused from them, as men who do not take office to themselves, but give themselves to office. For it is not, as the Emperor Tiberius said, a disgrace for a man over sixty years of age to hold out his hand to the physician b; but rather is it a disgrace to hold out the hand to the people asking for a ballot or a viva voce vote; for this is ignoble and mean, whereas the contrary possesses a certain dignity and honour, when an aged man's country chooses him, calls him, and waits for him, and he comes down amid honour and friendly applause to welcome and accept a distinction which is truly revered and respected.

21. And in somewhat the same way a man who has grown old ought to treat speech-making in the assembly; he should not be constantly jumping up on the platform, nor always, like a cock, crowing in opposition to what is said; nor should he, by getting involved in controversy, loose the curb of reverence for him in the young men's minds and instill into them the practice and custom of disobedience and curvillations to listen to him; but he should sometimes both slacken the reins and allow them to throw up their heads boldly to oppose his opinion and to show their spirit, without even being present or interfering except when the matter

πρός σωτηρίαν κοινήν ή το καλόν και πρέπον. έκει δέ χρη και μηδενός καλούντος ώθεισθαι δρόμω παρά δύναμιν, αναθέντα χειραγωγοίς αύτον η φοράδην κομιζόμενον, ώσπερ ιστορούσιν εν 'Ρώμη Κλαύδιον "Αππιον ήττημένων γὰρ ὑπὸ Πύρρου μάχη μεγάλη, Ε πυθόμενος την σύγκλητον ενδέχεσθαι λόγους περί σπονδών καί εἰρήνης οὐκ ἀνασχετὸν ἐποιήσατο, καίπερ αμφοτέρας αποβεβληκώς τας όψεις, αλλ' ήκε δι' αγορας φερόμενος πρός το βουλευτήριον· είσελθών δε και καταστάς είς μέσον έφη πρότερον μεν άχθεσθαι τῶ τῶν ομμάτων στέρεσθαι, νῦν δ' αν εύξασθαι μηδ' άκούειν ούτως αίσχρά και άγεννη βουλευομένους και πράττοντας εκείνους. Εκ τούτου τὰ μὲν καθαψάμενος αὐτῶν τὰ δὲ διδάξας Ε καὶ παρορμήσας, ἔπεισεν εὐθύς ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα χωρεῖν καὶ διαγωνίζεσθαι περὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας πρός τὸν Πύρρον, ό δὲ Σόλων, τῆς Πεισιστράτου δημαγωγίας, ότι τυραννίδος ήν μηχάνημα, φανεράς γενομένης, μηδενός αμύνεσθαι μηδέ κωλύειν τολμῶντος, αὐτὸς ἐξενεγκάμενος τὰ ὅπλα καὶ πρὸ τῆς οικίας θέμενος ήξίου βοηθείν τους πολίτας πέμψαντος δὲ τοῦ Πεισιστράτου πρός αὐτὸν καὶ πυνθανομένου τίνι πεποιθώς ταθτα πράττει, "τῶ γήρα." FTATEV.

22. 'Αλλά τὰ μὲν οὕτως ἀναγκαῖα καὶ τοὺς ἀπερβηκότας κομιδῆ γέροντας, ἄν μόνον ἐμπνέωσιν, ἐξάπτει καὶ διανίστησιν ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις ποτὲ μέν, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, παραιτούμενος ἐμμελὴς ἔσται 795 τὰ γλίσχρα καὶ διακονικὰ καὶ μείζονας ἔχοντα τοῖς

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Cf. Aristotle, Constitution of Athens, 14. 2, and Sandys' note.

at stake is important for the common safety or for honour and decorum. But in such cases he ought, even when no one calls him, to run at a speed beyond his strength, letting himself be led by attendants who support him or having himself carried in a litter, as we are told that Appius Claudius did in Rome: for after the Romans had been defeated by Pyrrhus in a great battle, when he heard that the senate was admitting proposals for a truce and peace, he found that intolerable, and although he had lost the sight of both his eyes, had himself carried through the Forum to the Senate-house. He went in, took his stand in the midst of the senate, and said that hitherto he had been grieved by the loss of his eyes, but now he could pray not even to have ears to hear them discussing and doing things so disgraceful and ignoble. And thereupon, partly by rebuking them, partly by instructing and inciting them, he persuaded them to rush to arms forthwith and fight it out with Pyrrhus for the rule of Italy. And Solon, when it became clear that the popular leadership of Peisistratus was a contrivance to make him tyrant, since no one dared to oppose ns. stacked

the citizens to come to the aid of their country; then, when Pcisistratus sent and asked him what gave him confidence to do this, he replied, "My age." a

22. However, matters of such urgent necessity do kindle and arouse aged men whose fire is quite extinct, provided they merely have breath; yet in other matters the aged man will sometimes, as has been said, act fittingly by declining mean and petty offices which bring more trouble to those who

(795) πράττουσιν ἀσχολίας ἢ δι' οὖς πράττεται χρείας καὶ ἀψελείας ἔστι δ' ὅπου περιμένων καλέσαι καὶ ποθῆσαι καὶ μετελθεῖν οἴκοθεν τοὖς πολίτας ἀξιοπιστότερος δεομένοις κάτεισι. τὰ δὲ πλεῖστα καὶ παρὰν σιωπή τοῦς νεωπέροις λέγειν παρίησιν, οἶον βραβεύων ψιλοτιμίας πολιτικῆς ἄμιλλαν ἐὰν δ' ὑπερβάλλη τὸ μέτριον, καθαπτόμενος ἡπίως καὶ μετ' εὐμενείας ἀφαιρῶν ψιλονεικίας καὶ βλασφημίας καὶ ὀργάς, ἐν δὲ ταῖς γνώμαις τὸν ἀμαρτάννοντα παραμυθούμενος ἄνευ ψόγου καὶ διδάσκων, ἐπαινῶν δ' ἀφόβως¹ τὸν κατορθοῦντα καὶ νικώμενος έκου-Β σίως καὶ προϊέμενος τὸ πεῖσαι καὶ περιγενέσθαι πολλάκις ὅπως αὐξάνωνται καὶ θαρσῶσιν, ἐνίοις δὲ κιὶ συναναπληρῶν μετ' εὐφημίας τὸ ἐλλεῖπον, ὡς δ Νέστωρ

οὖτις τοι τὸν μῦθον ὀνόσσεται ὅσσοι ᾿Αχαιοί, οὐδὲ πάλιν ἐρέει· ἀτὰρ οὐ τέλος ἵκεο μύθων. ἢ μὴν καὶ νέος ἐσσί, ἐμὸς δέ κε καὶ πάις εἴης.

23. Τούτου δὲ πολιτικώτερον, μὴ μόνον ἐμφανῶς μηδὲ δημοσία ὀνειδίζων² ἄνευ δηγμοῦ σφόδρα κολούοντος καὶ ταπεινοῦντος, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ίδία τοῖς εὖ πεφυκόσι πρὸς πολιτείαν ὑποτιθέμενος Ο καὶ συνεισηγούμενος εὐμενῶς λόγους τε χηστούς καὶ πολιτεύματα, συνεξορμῶν πρὸς τὰ καλὰ καὶ συνεπιλαμπρύνων τὸ φρόνημα καὶ παρέχων, ὤσπερ οἱ διδάσκοντες ἱππεύειν, ἐν ἀρχῆ χειροήθη

¹ ἀφόβως] ἀφθόνως Reiske.
 ² ὀνειδίζων Madvig: ὀνειδίζειν.

<sup>&</sup>quot; Homer, Il. ix. 55 ff. Nestor speaks to Diomedes.

administer them than profit and advantage to those for whom they are administered; and sometimes by waiting for the citizens to call for him, long for him, and send for him at his house, he will, when he comes, be received with greater confidence by those who begged for his presence. And for the most part he will, even when present, be silent and let younger men speak, acting as a kind of umpire at the contest of political ambition; and if the contest passes the bounds of moderation, by administering a mild and kindly rebuke, he will endeavour to do away with contention, opprobrious language, and anger, will correct and instruct without fault-finding him who errs in his opinions, but will fearless's praise him who is right; and he will velous only suffer do to and will often give up success in persuading the people to his will in order that the young may grow in power and courage, and for some of them he will supply what is lacking with kindly words, as Nestor said.

No one of all the Achaeans will blame the words thou hast spoken.

Nor will oppose them in speech; and yet thou hast reached no conclusion.

Truly thou art a young man, and thou mightest e'en be my own offspring."

23. But more statesmanlike than this it is, not merely to avoid, when rebuking them openly and in public, any biting speech which violently represses and humiliates them, but rather in kindly spirit to suggest and inculcate in private to those who have natural ability for public affairs advantageous words and policies, urging them on towards that which is noble, adding brilliancy to their minds, and, after the manner of riding-teachers,

(795) καὶ πρῶον ἐπιβῆναι τὸν δῆμον· εἰ δέ τι σφαλείη, μὴ περιορῶν ἐξαθυμοῦντα τὸν νέον, ἀλλὶ ἀνιστὰς καὶ παραμυθούμενος, ὡς ᾿Αριστείδης Κίμωνα καὶ Μνησίφιλος Θεμιστοκλέα, δυσχεραινομένους και κακῶς ἀκούοντας ἐν τῆ πόλει τὸ πρῶτον ὡς ἰταμοὺς καὶ ἀκολάστους, ἐπῆραν καὶ ἀνεθάρρυναν, λέγεται δὲ καὶ Δημοσθένους ἐκπεσόντος ἐν τῷ D δήμω καὶ βαρέως φέροντος ἄψασθαι παλαιόν τινα γέροντα τῶν ἀκηκοότων Περικλέους καὶ εἰπεῦν, ὡς ἐκείνω τἀνδρὶ προσεοικὼς τὴν φύσιν οὐ δικαίως αὐτοῦ κατέγνωκεν. οὕτω δὲ καὶ Τιμόθεον Εὐριπίδης συριττόμενον ἐπὶ τῆ καινοτομία καὶ παρανομεῖν εἰς τὴν μουσικὴν δοκοῦντα θαρρεῖν ἐκέλευσεν, ὡς ἀλίγου χρόνου τῶν θεάτρων ὑπὶ ἀὐτῷ γενησομεύων.

24. Καθόλου δ' ἄσπερ ἐν 'Ρώμη ταις 'Εστιάσι παρθένοις τοῦ χρόνου διώρισται τὸ μὲν μανθάνειν τὸ δὲ δρῶν τὰ νενομισμένα τὸ δὲ τρίτον ἤδη διδάσκειν, καὶ τῶν ἐν 'Εφέσω περὶ τὴν ''Αρτεμιν Ε ὁμοίως ἐκάστην' Μελλιέρην τὸ πρῶτον είθ' 'Τέρην τὸ δὲ τρίτον Παωέρην καλοῦσιν σύτως ὁ πελέως

ω όμοιτως εκαυτήν Ιπελημερήν το πρώτον εν Τερτήν τό δὲ τρίτον Παριέρην καλοῦσιν· οὐτως ὁ τελέως πολιτικός ἀνὴρ τὸ μὲν πρώτα μανθάνων ἔτι πολιτεύεται² καὶ μυούμενος τὰ δ' ἔσχατα διδάσκων καὶ μυσταγωγών· τὸν μὲν γὰρ ἐπιστάτην² ἀθλοῦσιν ἐτέροις οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτὸν ἀθλεῦν, ὁ δὲ παιδοτριβῶν νέον ἐν πράγμασι κοινοῖς καὶ δημοσίοις ἀγῶσι καὶ παρασκευάζων τῆ πατρίδι

μύθων τε ρητηρ' έμεναι πρηκτηρά τε έργων

1 έκάστην Χ. Jlander: έκάστου.
 2 πολιτεύεται Wyttenbach: πολυτεύεσθαι.
 3 τὸν . . . ἐπιστάτην Capps: τὸ . . . ἐπιστατεῦν.

enabling them at first to mount the populace when it is tractable and gentle; then, if the young man fails in any way, not letting him be discouraged, but setting him on his feet and encouraging him. as Aristeides raised up and encouraged Cimon and Mnesiphilus did the like for Themistocles when they were at first disliked and decried in the city as being rash and unrestrained. And there is also a story that when Demosthenes had met with a reverse in the assembly and was disheartened thereby, an aged man who had formerly heard Pericles speak touched him with his hand and told him that he resembled that great man in natural ability and. therefore, had been unjust in condemning himself. And so also when Timotheüs was hissed for being new-fangled and was said to be committing sacrilege upon music, Euripides told him to be of good courage, for in a little while the theatres would be at his feet.

24. And in general, just as at Rome the Vestal Virgins have a definite time allotted them, first for learning, then for performing the traditional rites, and thirdly and lastly for teaching them, and as at Ephesus they call each one of the servants of Artemis first a novice, then a priestess, and thirdly an expriestess, so the perfect statesman engages in public affairs, first while still a learner and a neophyte and finally as a teacher and initiator. For although it is impossible for the overseer of other athletes to engage in contests himself, yet he who trains a young man in affairs of the community and political struggles and prepares him for the service of his country

Speaker of speeches to be and also a doer of actions,<sup>a</sup>

Homer, Il. ix. 443.

έν οδ μικρώ μέρει πολιτείας οδδε φαύλω χρήσιμός έστιν, άλλ' είς ο μάλιστα και πρώτον ο Λυκούργος Ε έντείνας έαυτον είθισε τους νέους παντί πρεσβύτη καθάπερ νομοθέτη πειθομένους διατελείν. πρός τί βλέψας ὁ Λύσανδρος είπεν, ώς ἐν Λακεδαίμονι κάλλιστα γηρώσιν; άρ' ότι γ' άργεῖν1 έξεστι μάλιστα τοις πρεσβυτέροις έκει και δανείζειν η κυβεύειν συγκαθεζομένους η πίνειν εν ώρα συνάγοντας; οὐκ ἂν εἶποις ἀλλ' ὅτι τρόπον τινὰ πάντες οἱ τηλικοῦτοι τάξιν ἀρχόντων ή τινων πατρονόμων ή παιδαγωγών έχοντες οὐ τὰ κοινὰ 796 μόνον ἐπισκοποῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν νέων ἕκαστ' άεὶ περί τε τὰ γυμνάσια καὶ παιδιὰς² καὶ διαίτας καταμανθάνουσιν οὐ παρέργως, φοβεροί μεν όντες τοις άμαρτάνουσιν αίδεστοι δε τοις άγαθοις και ποθεινοί θεραπεύουσι γάρ ἀεὶ καὶ διώκουσιν αὐτοὺς οἱ νέοι, τὸ κόσμιον καὶ τὸ γενναῖον αὔξοντας

καὶ συνεπιγαυροῦντας ἄνευ φθόνου.
25. Τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ πάθος οὐδενὶ χρόνω πρέπον ἡλικίας, ὅμως ἐν νέοις εὐπορεῖ χρηστῶν ὁνομάτων, ἄμιλλα καὶ ζήλος καὶ φιλοτιμία προσαγορεύφιενον, ἐν δὲ πρεσβύταις παντελῶς ἄωρόν ἐστι καὶ ἄγριον καὶ ἀγευνές. διὸ δεῖ πορρωτάτω τοῦ φθονεῦν ὅντα τὸν πολιτικὸν γέροντα μὴ καθάπερ τὰ βάσκανα Β γεράνδρυα τῶν παραβλαστανόντων καὶ ἀποφυομένων σαφῶς ἀφαιρεῖσθαι καὶ κολούειν τὴν βλάστην καὶ τὴν αὐξησιν, ἀλλ' εὐμενῶς προσδέχεσθαι καὶ παρέχειν τοῖς ἀντιλαμβανομένοις καὶ προσπλεκο-

γ' ἀργεῖν Fachse: γεωργεῖν.
 παιδιὰς Amyot: παιδείας.

is useful to the State in no small or mean degree, but helps towards that for which Lycurgus first and especially exerted himself when he accustomed the young always to obey every old man as if he were a lawgiver. For what had Lysander in mind when he said that men grow old most nobly in Lacedaemon? Was it because there the older men are more than elsewhere allowed to live in idleness and to lend money or sit together and throw dice or get together betimes for

that. No, it

more or less the position of magistrates, fatherly counsellors, or instructors, and not only oversee public affairs, but also make it their business to learn all details about the gymnasia, the sports, and the daily lives of the young men, and, therefore, they are feared by those who do wrong but revered and desired by the good; for the young men always cultivate and follow them, since they enhance and encourage the decorum and innate nobility of the young without arousing their envy.

25. For the emotion of envy is not fitting for any time of life, but nevertheless it has among young people plenty of fine names, being called "competition," "zeal," and "ambition"; but in old men it is totally unseasonable, uncultured, and ignoble. Therefore the aged statesman, being far beyond the feeling of envy, should not, as envious old tree trunks clearly do, try to destroy and prevent the sprouting growth of the plants which spring up beside them and grow under them, but he should receive kindly those who claim his attention and attach themselves to him; he should offer himself to

Cf. Athenaeus 279 E and 365 c.

(796) μένοις έαυτον ορθούντα καὶ χειραγωγούντα καὶ τρέφοντα μὴ μόνον ὑφηγήσεσι καὶ συμβουλίαις ἀγαθαῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ παραχωρήσεσι πολιτευμάτων τιμὴν ἐχόντων καὶ δόξαν ἢ τινας ὑπουργίας άβλαβεῖς μὲν ἡδείας δὲ τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ πρὸς χάριν ἐσομένας· ὅσα δ' ἐστὶν ἀντίτυπα καὶ προσάντη καὶ καθάπερ τὰ φάρμακα δάκνει παραχρῆμα καὶ λυπεῖ τὸ δὲ Ο καλὸν καὶ λυσιτελὲς ὕστερον ἀποδίδωσι, μὴ τοὺς νέους ἐπὶ ταῦτα προσάγοντα μηδ' ὑποβάλλοντα θορύβοις, ὁχλων ἀγνωμουούντων ἀήθεις ὅντας, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν ἐκδεχόμενον τὰς ὑπὲρ τῶν συμφερόντων ἀπεχθείας· τούτω γὰρ εὐνουστέρους τε ποιήσει τοὺς νέους καὶ προθυμοτέρους ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις ὑπηρεσίαις.

26. Παρὰ πάντα δὲ ταῦτα χρὴ μνημονεύειν, ὡς οὐκ ἔστι πολιτεύεσθαι μόνον τὸ ἄρχειν καὶ πρεσβεύεν καὶ μέγα βοᾶν ἐν ἐκκλησία καὶ περὶ τὸ βῆμα βακχεύειν λέγοντας ἢ γράφοντας, ἃ οἱ πολλοὶ τοῦ¹ πολιτεύεσθαι νοιζουσιν, ὥσπερ ἀμέλει καὶ D φιλοσοφείν τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ δίφρου διαλεγομένους καὶ σχολὰς ἐπὶ βιβλίοις περαίνοντας ἡ δὲ συνεχὴς ἐν ἔργοις καὶ πράξεσιν όρωμένη καθ' ἡμέραν όμαλῶς² πολιτεία καὶ φιλοσοφία λέληθεν αὐτούς. καὶ γὰρ τοὺς ἐν ταῖς στοαῖς ἀνακάμπτοντας περιπατεῖν φασιν, ὡς ἔλεγε Δικαίαρχος, οὐκέτι δὲ τοὺς εἰς ἀγρὸν ἢ πρὸς φίλον βαδίζοντας. ὅμοκράτης

<sup>1</sup> τοῦ] τὸ Coraes; τοῦ omitted by Reiske.
<sup>9</sup> ὁμαλῶς Coraes: οὐδαμῶς.

direct, guide, and support them, not only with good instructions and advice, but also by giving up to them public offices which bring honour and reputation, or certain public services which will do no harm to the people, but will be pleasing to it, and will make them popular. But as for such things as arouse opposition and are difficult and, like certain medicines, smart and hurt at first but produce an excellent and profitable result afterwards, he should not force young men into these and subject them to popular outcries while they are still unaccustomed to the inconsiderate mob; but he should himself assume the unpopularity arising from advantageous measures, for in this way he will make the young more well-disposed towards him and more eager in performing other services.

26. But above all things we must remind them that statesmanship consists, not only in holding office, being ambassador, vociferating in the assembly, and ranting round the speakers' platform proposing laws and making motions. Most people think all this is part of statesmanship, just as they think of course that those are philosophers who sit in a chair and converse and prepare their lectures over their books; but the continuous practice of statesmanship day allike seen in acts

For, as Dicaearchus

used to remark, those who circulate in the porticoes are said to be "promenading," a but those who walk into the country or to see a friend are not. Now being a statesman is like being a philosopher. Socrates at any rate was a philosopher, although he did not

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> This is a play on the name of the Peripatetic school of philosophy. Cf. Müller, Frag. Hist. Graec. ii, p. 226.

νοῦν οὖτε βάθρα θεὶς οὖτ' εἰς θρόνον καθίσας ούθ' ώραν διατριβής ή περιπάτου τοῖς γνωρίμοις τεταγμένην φυλάττων, ἀλλὰ καὶ συμπαίζων, ὅτε τύγοι, καὶ συμπίνων καὶ συστρατευόμενος ενίοις καὶ συνανοράζων, τέλος δὲ καὶ δεδεμένος καὶ Ε πίνων το φάρμακον, εφιλοσόφει πρώτος αποδείξας τον βίον ἄπαντι χρόνω καὶ μέρει καὶ πάθεσι καὶ πράγμασιν άπλως άπασι φιλοσοφίαν δεχόμενον. ούτω δή διανοητέον καὶ περί πολιτείας, ώς τους μέν ανοήτους, οὐδ' όταν στρατηγώσιν ή γραμματεύωσιν ή δημηγορώσι, πολιτευομένους άλλ' οχλοκοποθντας η πανηγυρίζοντας η στασιάζοντας η λειτουργούντας άναγκαίως τον δε κοινωνικόν καὶ φιλάνθρωπον καὶ φιλόπολιν καὶ κηδεμονικόν καὶ πολιτικόν άληθως, καν μηδέποτε την χλαμύδα περίθηται, πολιτευόμενον ἀεὶ τῷ παρορμᾶν τους Τ δυναμένους, ύφηγείσθαι τοίς δεομένοις, συμπαρείναι τοις βουλευομένοις, διατρέπειν τους κακοπραγμονοθντας, επιρρωννύναι τούς εθγνώμονας, φανερόν είναι μή παρέργως προσέχοντα τοίς κοινοίς μηδ' όπου σπουδή τις ή παράκλησις διά τὸ πρωτείον3 είς τὸ θέατρον βαδίζοντα καὶ τὸ βουλευτήριον, άλλως δε διαγωγής χάριν ώς επί θέαν ή άκρόασιν. 797 όταν ἐπέλθη, παραγιγνόμενον, ἀλλά, κᾶν μή παραγένηται τῶ σώματι, παρόντα τῆ γνώμη καὶ τῶ πυνθάνεσθαι τὰ μὲν ἀποδεχόμενον τοῖς δὲ δυσκολαίνοντα τών πραττομένων.

27. Οὐδὲ γὰρ 'Αθηναίων 'Αριστείδης οὐδὲ 'Ρω-

<sup>1</sup> συμπαίζων Reiske: παίζων. 2 δεδεμένος Wyttenbach: συνδεδεμένος. 3 πρωτεΐον Xylander's version: πρώτον.

set out benches or seat himself in an armchair or observe a fixed hour for conversing or promenading with his pupils, but jested with them, when it so happened, and drank with them, served in the army or lounged in the market-place with some of them, and finally was imprisoned and drank the poison. He was the first to show that life at all times and in all parts, in all experiences and activities, universally admits philosophy. So this is what we must understand concerning statesmanship also: that foolish men, even when they are generals or secretaries or public orators, do not act as statesmen, but court the mob, deliver harangues, arouse factions, or under compulsion perform public services; but that the man who is really public-spirited and who loves mankind and the State and is careful of the public welfare and truly statesmanlike, that man, although he never put on a uniform, is always acting as a statesman by urging those on who have power, guiding those who need guidance, assisting those who are deliberating, reforming those who act wrongly, encouraging those who are right-minded, making it plain that he is not just casually interested in public affairs and that he goes to the assembly or the council, not for the sake of getting the first seat when there is something serious in prospect or he is summoned, but that when he goes there he goes not merely for amusement as if to see or hear a performance, and that even when he is not there in person he is present in thought and through inquiry, thus approving of some of the proceedings and disapproving of others.

27. For not even Aristeides was often ruler of the

(797) μαίων Κάτων ήρξε πολλάκις, άλλὰ πάντα τὸν αύτων βίον ἐνεργον ἀεὶ ταις πατρίσι παρέσχον. Έπαμεινώνδας δε πολλά μεν και μεγάλα κατώρθωσε στρατηγών, οὐκ ἔλαττον δ' αὐτοῦ μνημονεύεται μηδέ στρατηγοῦντος μηδ' ἄρχοντος ἔργον περί Θετταλίαν, ότε των στρατηγών είς τόπους χαλεπούς εμβαλόντων την φάλαγγα καὶ θορυβου-Β μένων (ἐπέκειντο γὰρ οἱ πολέμιοι βάλλοντες), άνακληθείς έκ των όπλιτων πρώτον μέν έπαυσε θαρούνας τὸν τοῦ στρατεύματος τάραχον καὶ φόβον, ἔπειτα διατάξας καὶ διαρμοσάμενος τὴν φάλαγνα συγκεχυμένην έξήγαγε ραδίως και κατέστησεν έναντίαν τοῖς πολεμίοις, ὥστ' ἀπελθεῖν ἐκείνους Αγιδος δέ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐν μεταβαλομένους. Αρκαδία τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐπάγοντος ήδη τὸ στράτευμα συντεταγμένον είς μάχην, των πρεσβυτέρων τις Σπαρτιατών ἐπεβόησεν, ότι διαποείται κακόν κακῷ ἰᾶσθαι, δηλών τῆς ἐξ "Αργους ἐπαιτίου<sup>ι</sup> ο άναχωρήσεως την παρούσαν άκαιρον προθυμίαν ανάληψιν βουλόμενην είναι, ώς ὁ Θουκυδίδης φησίν· δ δ' Αγις ακούσας επείσθη και ανεχώρησε. Μενεκράτει δέ και δίφρος έκειτο καθ' ήμέραν παρά ταις θύραι; τοῦ ἀρχείου, καὶ πολλάκις ἀνιστάμενοι πρὸς αύτον οί "Εφοροι διεπυνθάνοντο καὶ συνεβουλεύοντο περί των μεγίστων. εδόκει γαρ εμφρων ανήρ είναι καί συνετός ίστορεῖσθαι διό καὶ παντάπασιν ήδη την του σώματος έξημαυρωμένος δύναμιν και τά πολλά κλινήρης διημερεύων, μεταπεμπομένων είς άγορὰν τῶν Ἐφόρων, ὥρμησε μὲν ἐξαναστὰς

¹ ἰᾶσθαι . . . ἐπαιτίου Thucydides, v. 65 : ἰάσασθαι . . . ἐπετείου.
 ² βουλομένην Thucydides : βουλόμενον.
 ³ Μενεκράτει δὲ Jannot : μέν, ἐκράτει δὲ.

Athenians, nor Cato of the Romans, but they spent their whole lives in active service to their native States. And Epameinondas as general gained many great successes, but one deed of his equal to any of them is recorded, which he performed in Thessaly when he was neither general nor magistrate. The generals had led the phalanx into difficult ground and were in confusion (for the enemy were pressing them hard with missile weapons), when he was called out from his place among the infantry; and first by encouraging the army he put an end to confusion and fear, then, after arranging the broken phalanx and putting it in order, he easily led it out and drew it up to face the enemy, so that they changed front and withdrew. And when King Agis, in Arcadia, was already leading against the enemy his army drawn up for battle, one of the elder Spartiates called out to him that he was planning to cure evil with evil, pointing out that his present unseasonable eagerness was an attempt to atone for his culpable retreat from Argos, as Thucydides says.a And when Agis heard this, he took the advice and retreated. For Menecrates a chair was placed every day by the door of the house of government, and often the ephors rose up from their session and went to him for information and advice on the most important matters; for he was considered to be a wise man and an intelligent one to be consulted. And therefore, after his physical strength had become utterly exhausted and he had to spend most of the day in bed, when the ephors sent for him to come to the market-place, he got up and set out to walk,

<sup>4</sup> Thucydides, v. 65, 2,

(797) βαδίζειν, μόλις δὲ καὶ χαλεπῶς προερχόμενος, εἶτα D παιδαρίοις ἐντυχὼν καθ' όδόν, ἢρώτησεν, εἴ τι γινώσκουσιν ἀναγκαιότερον ὅν τοῦ πείθεσθαι δεσπότη: τῶν δὲ φησάντων '΄ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι,'' τοῦτο τῆς ὑπουργίας λογισάμενος πέρας ἀνέστρεψεν οἴκαδε. δεῖ γὰρ μὴ προαπολείπειν τὴν προθυμίαν τῆς δυνάμεως, ἐγκαταλειφθεῖσαν δὲ μὴ βιάζεσθαι. καὶ μὴν Γαΐω Λαιλίω Σκιπίων ἐχρῆτο συμβούλω στρατηγῶν ἀεὶ καὶ πολιτευόμενος, ὥστε καὶ λέγειν ἐνίους ὑποκριτὴν τῶν πράξεων Σκιπίωνα ποιητὴν δὲ τὸν Γάιον εἶναι. Κικέρων δ' αὐτὸς ὁμολογεῖ τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ μέγιστα τῶν συμβουλευμάτων, οἶς ὅρθωσεν ὑπατεύων τὴν πατρίδα, μετὰ Ποπλίου Νιχιδίου τοῦ φιλοσόφου συνθεῖναι.

Ε 28. Οὔτω διὰ πολλῶν τρόπων τῆς πολιτείας οὐδὲν ἀποκωλύει τοὺς γέροντας ἀφελεῖν τὸ κοινὸν ἀπὸ τῶν βελτίστων, λόγου καὶ γνώμης καὶ παρρησίας καὶ φροντίδος πινυτῆς, ὡς δη ποιηταὶ λέγουσιν, οὐ γὰρ αἱ χεῖρες ἡμῶν οὐδ' οἱ πόδες, οὐδ' ἡ τοῦ σώματος ρώμη κτῆμα καὶ μέρος ἐστὶ τῆς πόλεως μόνον, ἀλλὰ πρῶτον ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς κάλλη, δικαιοσύνη καὶ σωφροσύνη καὶ φρόνησις ἄν ὀψὲ καὶ βραδέως τὸ οἰκεῖον ἀπολαμβανόντων, ἄτοπόν ἐστὶ τὴν μὲν οἰκίαν καὶ τον ἀγρὸν Τὰ ἀπολαύειν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ χρήματα καὶ κτήματα, κοινῆ δὲ τῆ πατρίδι καὶ τοῦς πολίταις μηκέτι χρησίμους εἶναὶ διὰ τὸν χρόνον, οὐ τοσοῦτον τῶν

ύπηρετικών παραιρούμενον δυνάμεων, όσον ταίς
1 προαπολείπειν Coracs: προαπολιπείν.

but proceeded slowly and with difficulty; then, meeting some boys on the way, he asked them if they knew of anything stronger than the necessity of obeying one's master, and they replied, "Not being able to." Accounting this as the limit of his service, he turned round and went home. For a man's zeal ought not to fail before his strength, but when it is deserted by strength, it should not be forced. Certainly Scipio, both as general and as statesman, always made use of Gaius Laelius as his adviser, so that some people even said that Scipio was the actor, but Gaius the author, of his deeds. And Cicero himself confesses that the noblest and greatest of the plans through which as consul he restored his country to safety were devised with the help of the philosopher Publius Nigidius.

28. There are, then, many kinds of political activity by which old men may readily benefit the commonwealth by giving of their best, namely reason, judgement, frankness, and "sapience profound," as poets say "; for not only do our hands or our feet or the strength of our body constitute a possession and a part of the State, but first of all our soul and the beautics of the soul—justice, moderation, and wisdom. And since these acquire their proper quality late and slowly, it is absurd that house, farm, and other property or possessions should derive all the benefit from aged men but that they should be no longer of use to their country in general and their fellow-citizens by reason of their age, for age does not so much diminish our power to perform

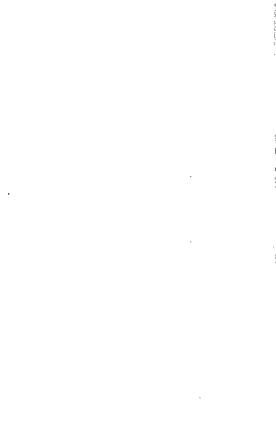
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Plutarch seems to have no particular poet in mind, but merely indicates that he is using poetic diction.

(797) ήγεμονικαις και πολιτικαις προστίθησι. διὸ και τῶν Ἑρμῶν τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους ἄχειρας και ἄποδας ἐντεταμένους δὲ τοῖς μορίοις δημιουργούσιν, αἰνιττόμενοι τῶν γερόντων ἐλάχιστα δείσθαι διὰ τοῦ σώματος ἐνεργούντων, ἐὰν τὸν λόγον ἐνεργούν, ὡς προσήκει, και γόνιμον ἔχωσιν.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Plutarch seems to be in error; at any rate the extant Hermac which represent elderly men do not differ in the

inferior services as it increases our power for leading and governing. And that is the reason why they make the older Hermae without hands or feet, but with their private parts stiff, indicating figuratively that there is no need whatsoever of old men who are active by their body's use, if they keep their nind, as it should be, active and fertile.

particular mentioned from those which represent younger men.



# PRECEPTS OF STATECRAFT (PRAECEPTA GERENDAE REIPUBLICAE)

## INTRODUCTION

This essay is addressed to Menemachus, a young man who has asked Plutarch for advice concerning public life. Nothing further is known of the young man, except that Pardalas of Sardis is mentioned as his fellow-citizen (813 F; 825 D); but some of those to whom Plutarch's various essays are addressed are known to be real persons, and it is, therefore. probable that Menemachus also actually existed. Plutarch held at different times various public offices. and moreover he was highly regarded by his fellowcitizens and many others as a guide, philosopher, and friend; it is, therefore, not unnatural that a young man who was thinking of entering upon a political career should appeal to him for advice and counsel, though it is also possible that Plutarch wrote the essay without being asked to do so and addressed it to Menemachus merely as a matter of form.

There is nothing profoundly philosophical and very little purely theoretical to be found here. Greece, like most of the known world, was a part of the Roman Empire, and the exercise of statecraft on a large scale was virtually limited to Romans. The ancient Greek city-states retained, however, their local self-government, subject to the supervision of the proconsul; they could enter into agreements with each other, and could send envoys to Rome if

#### PRECEPTS OF STATECRAFT

occasion arose. A man could, therefore, find useful and honourable occupation in public life, as Plutarch himself did. Although he frequently uses the great men of the great days of Greece as examples, Plutarch gives the sort of advice which would be useful to one engaged in such political activity as was open to a Greek in his time. Some of his advice is applicable only to his own times and its conditions, but the politician or statesman of any age may recognize many of his precepts as common sense, the application of which is limited to no time or place. The essay is, then, of interest, not only because it throws a sidelight upon the conditions in Greece in Plutarch's time, but also on account of its own inherent value.

The reference to troubles which took place "recently under Domitian" (815 D, Chapter 19) may indicate that the essay was written not long after

A.D. 96, the date of Domitian's death.

# ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΑ ΠΑΡΑΓΓΕΛΜΑΤΑ

1. Εἰ πρὸς ἄλλο τι χρήσασθαι καλῶς ἐστιν ἔχον,
 Δ Μενέμαχε, τῷ

οὖτις τοι τὸν μῦθον ὀνόσσεται ὅσσοι ᾿Αχαιοί, οὖδὲ πάλιν ἐρέει· ἀτὰρ οὐ τέλος ἵκεο μύθων,

Β καὶ πρὸς τοὺς προτρεπομένους τῶν φιλοσόφων διδάσκοντας δὲ μηδὲν μηδ' ὑποτιθεμένους· ὅμοιοι γάρ εἰσι τοῦς τοὺς λύχνους προμύττουσιν ἔλαιον δὲ μὴ ἐγχέουσιν. ὁρῶν οὖν σε παρωρμημένον ἀξίως τῆς εὐγενείας ἐν τῆ πατρίδι

μύθων τε βητηρ' έμεναι πρηκτηρά τε έργων,

ἐπειδή χρόνον οὐκ ἔχεις ἀνδρὸς φιλοσόφου βίον ὕπαιθρον ἐν πράξεσι πολιτικαῖς καὶ δημοσίοις ἀγῶσι κατανοῆσαι καὶ γενέσθαι παραδειγμάτων Ο ἔργω μὴ λόγω περαινομένων θεατής, ἀξιοῖς δὲ παραγγελματα λαβεῦν πολιτικά, τὴν μὲν ἄρνησιν οὐδαμῶς ἐμαυτῷ προσήκουσαν εἶναι νομίζω, τὸ δ' ἔργον εὕχομαι καὶ τῆς σῆς ἄξιον σπουδῆς καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς προθυμίας γενέσθαι τοῖς δὲ παραδείγμασι ποικιλωτέροις, ὤσπερ ἡξίωσας, ἐχρησάμην.

2. Πρώτον μέν οὖν ὑποκείσθω πολιτεία καθάπερ

# PRECEPTS OF STATECRAFT

1. If, Menemachus, it is suitable to apply to anything at all the saying

No one of all the Achaeans finds fault with the words thou

hast uttered, Nor will oppose them in speech; and yet thou hast reached no conclusion.<sup>4</sup>

it may be applied to those philosophers who urge people to take lessons from them, but give no real instruction or advice; for they are like those who trim the lamps, but fail to pour in oil. Therefore, seeing that the desire has been aroused in you a

Speaker of speeches to be, and also a doer of actions be in your native State, as befits your noble birth, since you have not time to gain an understanding of a philosopher's life in the open among affairs of State and public conflicts or to be a spectator of examples worked out in deed, not merely in word, and since you ask for some precepts of statecraft, I think it is not at all fitting that I should refuse, and I pray that the result may be worthy of your zeal and of my goodwill; and, as you requested, I have made use of a rather large variety of examples.

2. First, then, at the base of political activity there

Homer, Il. ix. 55; cf. Moralia, 795 B.
 Homer, Il. ix. 443; cf. Moralia, 795 E.

(798) έδαφος βέβαιον καὶ ἰσχυρὸν ἡ προαίρεσις ἀρχὴν ἔχουσα κρίσιν καὶ λόγον, ἀλλὰ μὴ πτοίαν ὑπὸ δόξης κενῆς ἡ φιλονεικίας τινὸς ἡ πρόξεων ἐτέρων ἀπορίας. ὥσπερ γὰρ οἶς οὐδὲν ἔστιν οἴκοι χρηστόν, ἐν ἀγορὰ διατρίβουσι, κὰν μὴ δέωνται, τὸν πλείστον [) χρόνον, οὔτως ἔνιοι τῷ μηδὲν ἔχειν ἴδιον ἄλλο πράττειν ἄξων σπουδῆς ἐμβάλλουσιν ἐαυτοὺς εἰς δημόσια πράγματα, τῆ πολιτεία διαγωγῆ χρώμενοι. πολλοί δ' ἀπὸ τύχης ἀψάμενοι τῶν κοινῶν καὶ ἀναπλησθέντες οὐκέτι ῥαδίως ἀπελθεῖν δύνανται, ταὐτὸ τοῖς ἐμβᾶσιν εἰς πλοῖον αἰώρας χάριν εἶτ' ἀποσπασθεῖσιν εἰς πέλαγος πεπονθότες· ἔξω βλέπουσι ναυτιῶντες καὶ ταραπτόμενοι, μένειν δὲ καὶ χρῆσθαι τοῖς παροῦσιν ἀνάγκην ἔχοντες·

λευκᾶς καθύπερθε γαλάνας εὐπρόσωποι σφᾶς παρήισαν ἔρωτες ναΐας κλαΐδος¹ χαραξιπόντου² δαιμονίαν ἐς ὕβριν.

οὖτοι καὶ μάλιστα διαβάλλουσι τὸ πρᾶγμα τῷ Ε μετανοεῦν καὶ ἀσχάλλειν, ὅταν ἢ δόξαν ἐλπίσαντες ἀδοξία περιπέσωσιν, ἢ φοβεροὶ προσδοκήσαντες ἐτέροις ἔσεσθαι διὰ δύναμιν εἰς πράγματα κινδύνους ἔχοντα καὶ ταραχὰς ἄγωνται. ὁ δ' ὡς μάλιστα προσῆκον ἑαυτῷ καὶ κάλλιστον ἔργον ἀπὸ γνώμης καὶ λογισμῷ τὰ κοινὰ πράσσειν ἀρξάμενος ὑτὸ οὐδενὸς ἐκπλήττεται τούτων οὐδ' ἀναστρέφεται τὴν γνώμην. οὕτε γὰρ ἐπ' ἐργασία καὶ χρηματισμῷ προσιτέον τοῦς κοινοῖς, ὡς οἱ περὶ ζτρατοκλέα

<sup>1</sup> κλαίδος Hermann: κληίδος, 2 χαραξιπόντου Xylander: χαράξει πόντου. 3 καὶ added by Reiske. 4 ούτε Coraes: ούδὲ,

## PRECEPTS OF STATECRAFT, 798

must be, as a firm and strong foundation, a choice of policy arising from judgement and reason, not from mere impulse due to empty opinion or contentiousness or lack of other activities. For just as those who have no useful occupation at home spend most of their time in the market-place, even if there is nothing they need ther " - because they have no business of · orth serious attention, throw themselves into public affairs, treating political activity as a pastime, and many who have become engaged in public affairs by chance and have had enough of them are no longer able to retire from them without difficulty; they are in the same predicament as persons who have gone aboard a vessel to be rocked a bit and then have been driven out into the open sea; they turn their gaze outside, seasick and much disturbed, but obliged to stay where they are and endure their present plight.

Over the bright calm sea The fair-faced loves went past them to the mad Outrage of the ship's oars that plough the deep.

These men cast the greatest discredit upon public life by regretting their course and being unhappy when, after hoping for glory, they have fallen into disgrace or, after expecting to be feared by others on account of their power, they are drawn into affairs which involve dangers and popular disorders. But the man who has entered upon public life from conviction and reasoning, as the activity most befitting him and most honourable, is not frightened by any of these things, nor is his conviction changed. For neither is it right to enter upon public life as a gainful trade, as a Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Grace. iii. p. 396, ascribed to Simonides.

καὶ Δρομοκλείδην ἐπὶ τὸ χρυσοῦν θέρος,¹ τὸ βῆμα Τ μετὰ παιδιᾶς οὕτως ὀνομάζοντες, ἀλλήλους παρεκάλουν· οὕθ' οἷον ἐπιλήπτους ὑπὸ πάθους ἄφνω γενομένους, ὡς Γάιος Γράκχος ἐπὶ θερμοῖς τοῖς περὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀτυχήμασιν ἀπωτάτω τῶν κοινῶν τὸν βίον θέμενος, εἶθ' ὕβρει τινῶν καὶ λοιδορία πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀναφλεχθεὶς ὑπ' ὀργῆς, ἐνέπεσε τοῖς κοινοῖς· κὰ ταχὺ μὲν ἐπλήσθη πραγμάτων καὶ δόξης, ζητῶν κὰ παύσασθαι καὶ δεόμενος μεταβολῆς καὶ ἡσυχίας 799 οὐχ εὕρε καταθέσθαι τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ διὰ μέγεθος ἀλλὰ προαπώλετο· τούς τε πρὸς ἄμιλλαν ἢ δόξαν ἄσπερ ὑποκριτὰς εἰς θέατρον ἀναπλάττοντας ἐαυτοὺς ἄνάγκη μετανοεῖν, ἢ δουλεύοντας ὧν ἄρχειν

ἄσπερ ὑποκριτὰς εἰς θέατρον ἀναπλάττοντας έαυτοὺς ἄνάγκη μετανοεῖν, ἢ δουλεύοντας ὧν ἄρχειν ἀξιοῦσιν ἢ προσκρούοντας οἰς ἀρέσκειν ἐθέλουσιν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ εἰς φρέαρ οἶμαι τὴν πολιτείαν τοὺς μὲν ἐμπίπτοντας αὐτομάτως καὶ παραλόγως ταράττεσθαι καὶ μετανοεῖν, τοὺς δὲ καταβαίνοντας ἐκ παρασκευῆς καὶ λογισμοῦ καθ ἡσυχίαν χρῆσθαί τε τοῖς πράγμασι μετρίως καὶ πρός μηδὲν δυσκολαίνειν, ἄτε δὴ τὸ καλὸν αὐτὸ καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο τῶν πράξεων ἔχοντας τέλος.

Β 3. Ο ὅτω δὴ τὴν προαίρεσιν ἀπερείσαντας ἐν ἐαυτοῖς καὶ ποιήσαντας ἄτρεπτον καὶ δυσμετάθετον, τρέπεσθαι χρὴ πρὸς κατανόησιν τοῦ ἤθους τῶν πολιτῶν, ὁ μάλιστα συγκραθὲν ἐκ πάντων ἐπιφαίνεται καὶ ἰσχύει. τὸ μὲν γὰρ εὐθὺς αὐτὸν

<sup>1</sup> θέρος] δέρος Salmasius.

# PRECEPTS OF STATECRAFT, 798-799

Stratocles and Dromocleides and their set used to invite each other to come to the golden harvest (for so they called the orators' platform in jest); nor ought we to enter upon it as if we were suddenly seized by an onset of strong emotion, as Gaius Gracchus did, who, when his brother's misfortunes were still fresh, withdrew so far as possible from public affairs and then, inflamed by anger because certain persons insulted and reviled him, rushed into public And although he was quickly satiated with public affairs and fame, yet when he tried to stop and wished for a change and a quiet life, he found that his power was too great to be laid down but before he could lay it down he perished. And those who make themselves up for political competition or the race for glory, as actors do for the stage, must necessarily regret their action, since they must either serve those whom they think they should rule or offend those whom they wish to please. On the contrary, I believe that those who, like men who fall into a well, stumble into public life by mere chance and unexpectedly must be east into confusion and regret their course, whereas those who enter into it quietly, as the result of preparation and reflection, will be moderate in their conduct of affairs and will not be discomposed by anything, inasmuch as they have honour itself and nothing else as the purpose of their actions.

3. So, after thus determining their choice in their own minds and making it invariable and unchangeable, statesmen must apply themselves to the understanding of the character of the citizens, which show itself as in the highest degree a compound of all their individual characters and is powerful. For any attempt

(799) ἐπιχειρεῖν ἠθοποιεῖν καὶ μεθαρμόττειν τοῦ δήμου τὴν φύσιν οὐ ῥάδιον οὐδ' ἀσφαλές, ἀλλὰ καὶ γρόνου δεόμενον πολλοῦ καὶ μεγάλης δυνάμεως. δεί δ', ωσπερ οίνος έν άρχη μεν ύπο των ήθων κοαπείται τοῦ πίνοντος ήσυχη δε διαθάλπων καὶ C κατακεραννύμενος αὐτὸς ἡθοποιεῖ τὸν πίνοντα καὶ μεθίστησιν, ούτω τὸν πολιτικόν, εως αν ἰσχύν άνωνον έκ δόξης και πίστεως κατασκευάσηται. τοις ύποκειμένοις ήθεσιν εὐάρμοστον elvai kal στονάζεσθαι τούτων, επιστάμενον οίς ναίρειν δ δημος καὶ ὑφ' ὧν ἄγεσθαι πέφυκεν οἷον ὁ ᾿Αθηναίων εὐκίνητός ἐστι πρὸς ὀργήν, εὐμετάθετος πρὸς ἔλεον, μάλλον ὀξέως ὑπονοεῖν ἢ διδάσκεσθαι καθ' ἡσυχίαν βουλόμενος ωσπερ των ανδρών τοις αδόξοις και ταπεινοίς βοηθείν προθυμότερος, ούτω των λόνων τούς παιγγιώδεις και γελοίους ασπάζεται και προτιμά τοῖς μέν ἐπαινοῦσιν αὐτὸν μάλιστα χαίρει, τοῖς δε σκώπτουσιν ήκιστα δυσχεραίνει φοβερός έστιν Τρ ἄχρι των ἀρχόντων, εἶτα φιλάνθρωπος ἄχρι των πολεμίων. έτερον ήθος του Καρχηδονίων δήμου, πικρόν, ακυθρωπόν, ύπήκοον τοις άργουσι, βαρύ τοις ύπηκόρις, ανεννέστατον έν φόβοις, ανριώτατον έν όργαις, έπίμονον τοις γνωσθείσι, πρός παιδιὰν καὶ χάριν ἀνήδυντον καὶ σκληρόν· οὐκ ὰν οὖτοι, Κλέωνος ἀξιοῦντος αὐτούς, ἐπεὶ τέθὑκε καὶ ξένους έστιαν μέλλει, τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ὑπερθέσθαι, γελάσαντες αν και κροτήσαντες ανέστησαν οὐδ' 'Αλκιβιάδην ὅρτυγος ἐν τῷ λέγειν διαφυγόντος

<sup>1</sup> προθυμότερος ] προθυμότατος Reiske.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> The story of the adjournment of the assembly is told by Plutarch in the *Life of Nicias*, chap. vii. p. 527.

# PRECEPTS OF STATECRAFT, 799

on the part of the statesman to produce by himself at the very outset a change of character and nature in the people will not easily succeed, nor is it safe, but it is a matter that requires a long space of time and great power. But just as wine is at first controlled by the character of the drinker but gradually, as it warms his whole body and becomes mingled therewith, itself forms the drinker's character and changes him, just so the statesman, until he has by his reputation and by public confidence in him built up his leadership, must accommodate himself to the people's character as he finds it and make that the object of his efforts, knowing by what things the people is naturally pleased and led. For example, the Athenian populace is easily moved to anger, easily turned to pity, more willing to suspect quickly than to be informed at leisure; as they are readier to help humble persons of no reputation, so they welcome and especially esteem facetious and amusing speeches; while they take most delight in those who praise them, they are least inclined to be angry with those who make fun of them; they are terrible even to their chief magistrates, then kindly even to their enemies. Quite different is the character of the Carthaginian people; it is bitter, sullen, subservient to their magistrates, harsh to their subjects, most abject when afraid, most savage when enraged, stubborn in adhering to its decisions, disagreeable and hard in its attitude towards playfulness and urbanity. Never would these people, if a Cleon had asked them to postpone the meeting of the assembly on the ground that he had made sacrifice and had guests to entertain, have adjourned the meeting amid laughter and the clapping of hands; nor would they, when a quail escaped from Alcibiades'

έκ τοῦ ίματίου, φιλοτίμως συνθηρεύσαντες άπ-Ε έδωκαν ἄν1. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπέκτειναν ἄν, ὡς ὑβοίζοντας καὶ τουφώντας όπου καὶ "Αννωνα λέοντι χρώμενον σκευοφόρω παρά τὰς στρατείας αἰτιασάμενοι τυραννικά φρονείν εξήλασαν. oluai 8° av Evans μηδέ Θηβαίους αποσχέσθαι γραμμάτων πολεμίων κυρίους γενομένους, ώς 'Αθηναῖοι Φιλίππου γραμ-ματοφόρους λαβόντες ἐπιστολὴν ἐπιγεγραμμένην 'Ολυμπιάδι κομίζοντας οὐκ ἔλυσαν οὐδ' ἀπεκάλυψαν ἀπόρρητον ἀνδρὸς ἀποδήμου πρὸς γυναῖκα φιλοφροσύνην οὐδέ γ' αὖ πάλιν 'Αθηναίους, 'Επαμεινώνδου πρός την κατηγορίαν απολογείσθαι μή Ε θέλοντος άλλ' άναστάντος έκ τοῦ θεάτρου καὶ διά της εκκλησίας είς το γυμνάσιον απιόντος, εὐκόλως ένενκείν την ύπεροψίαν και τὸ φρόνημα τοῦ ἀνδρός· πολλοῦ δ' ἄν ἔτι καὶ Σπαρτιάτας δεῆσαι την Στρατοκλέους υβριν υπομείναι καὶ βωμολοχίαν, πείσαντος μέν αὐτούς εὐαγγέλια θύειν ώς νενικηκότας, επεί δέ, της ήττης άληθως άπαγγελθείσης. 800 ήνανάκτουν, έρωτωντος τὸν δήμον τί ήδίκηται, τρείς ήμέρας δι' αὐτὸν ἡδέως γεγονώς. οδν αθλικοί κόλακες ώσπερ όρνιθοθήραι μιμούμενοι τῆ φωνῆ καὶ συνεξομοιοῦντες έαυτοὺς ὑποδύονται μάλιστα καὶ προσάγουσι δι' ἀπάτης τοῖς βασιλεῦσι. τῷ δὲ πολιτικῷ μιμεῖσθαι μὲν οὐ προσήκει τοῦ δήμου τὸν τρόπον, ἐπίστασθαι δὲ καὶ χρησθαι πρὸς

<sup>1</sup> ἀπέδωκαν ἄν Reiske: ἀπέδωκαν.

See Life of Alcibiades, chap. x. p. 195, b Cf. Life of Demetrius, chap. xi.

## PRECEPTS OF STATECRAFT, 799-800

cloak while he was speaking, have joined eagerly in hunting it down and then have given it back to him a; no, they would have put them both to death for their insolence and their flippancy, seeing that they banished Hanno on the charge of aspiring to be tyrant, because he used a lion on his campaigns to carry his luggage! And I do not believe that the Thebans either, if they had obtained control of their enemies' letters, would have refrained from reading them, as the Athenians, when they captured Philip's mail-carriers with a letter addressed to Olympias, refrained from breaking the seal and making known an affectionate private message of an absent husband to his wife. Nor, on the other hand. do I believe that the Athenians would have borne with good temper the contemptuous pride of Epameinondas, when he refused to reply to the accusation against him but rose from his scat and went out from the theatre through the assembly to the gymnasium. And I think, too, that the Spartans would have been far from enduring the insolence and buffoonery of Stratocles, who persuaded the Athenians to make sacrifices on the ground that they had won a victory, and then, after a true report of their defeat had been received, when they were angry with him, asked the people what wrong he had done them seeing that, thanks to him, they had been happy for three days. Now court flatterers. like bird-catchers, by imitating the voices of kings and assimilating themselves to them, insinuate themselves deeply into their good graces and decoy them by deceit; but for the statesman it is fitting, not to imitate the character of his people, but to understand it and to employ for each type those means by

(800) εκαστον, οις άλωσιμός εστιν ή γαρ άγνοια των ήθων αστοχίας φέρει και διαπτώσεις ουχ ήπτονας εν ταις πολιτείαις ή ταις φιλίαις των βασιλέων.

4. Το μέν οὖν τῶν πολιτῶν ἦθος ἰσχύοντα δεῖ καὶ πιστευόμενον ήδη πειρασθαι ρυθμίζειν ατρέμα Β πρός το βέλτιον υπάγοντα καὶ πράως μεταχειριζόμενον έργώδης γάρ ή μετάθεσις των πολλων. αὐτὸς δ' ὥσπερ ἐν θεάτρω τὸ λοιπὸν ἀναπεπταμένω βιωσόμενος, έξάσκει και κατακόσμει τον τρόπου: εί δὲ μὴ ράδιον ἀπαλλάξαι παντάπασι τῆς ψυγῆς την κακίαν, όσα γοῦν ἐπανθεῖ μάλιστα καὶ προπίπτει των άμαρτημάτων άφαιρών και κολούων. άκούεις γάρ, ότι και Θεμιστοκλής ἄπτεσθαι τής πολιτείας διανοούμενος απέστησε των πότων καί τών κώμων έαυτόν, άγρυπνών δε και νήφων και πεφροντικώς έλεγε πρός τους συνήθεις, ώς ουκ έα καθεύδειν αὐτὸν τὸ Μιλτιάδου τρόπαιον. Ο Περικλής δε και περί το σώμα και την δίαιταν έξήλλαξεν αύτον ήρέμα βαδίζειν και πράως διαλένεσθαι καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον ἀεὶ συνεστηκὸς ἐπιδείκνυσθαι καὶ τὴν χεῖρα συνέχειν ἐντὸς τῆς περιβολής και μίαν όδον πορεύεσθαι την έπι το βήμα και το βουλευτήριον, ου ναρ εύμετανείριστον ούδε ράδιον άλωναι την σωτήριον άλωσιν ύπο τοῦ τυγόντος ὅχλος," ἀλλ' ἀγαπητόν, εἰ μήτ' ὄψει μήτε φωνή πτυρόμενος ώσπερ θηρίον υποπτον καὶ ποικίλον ενδέχοιτο την επιστασίαν. ὧ τοίνυν οὐδε D τούτων ἐπιμελητέον ἐστὶ παρέργως, ἡπου τῶν περὶ τον βίον και το ήθος αμελητέον όπως ή ψόγου

προπίπτει Coraes: προσπίπτει.
 ὅχλος Bernardakis (ὁ ὅχλος Cobet): ὅχλον or ὅχλου.

which it can be brought under his control. For ignorance of their characters leads to no less serious mistakes and failures in free States than in the friendships of kings.

4. So, then, the statesman who already has attained to nower and has won the people's confidence should try to train the character of the citizens, leading them cently towards that which is better and treating them with mildness; for it is a difficult task to change the multitude. But do you yourself, since you are henceforth to live as on an open stage, educate your character and put it in order: and if it is not easy wholly to banish evil from the soul, at any rate remove and repress those faults which are most flourishing and conspicuous. For you know the story that Themistocles, when he was thinking of entering upon public life, withdrew from drinkingparties and carousals; he was wakeful at night, was sober and deeply thoughtful, explaining to his friends that Miltiades' trophy a would not let him sleep. And Pericles also changed his personal habits of life, so that he walked slowly, spoke gently, always showed a composed countenance, kept his hand under his cloak, and trod only one path-that which led to the assembly and the senate. For a populace is not a simple and easy thing for any chance person to subject to that control which is salutary : but one must be satisfied if the multitude accept authority without shying, like a suspicious and capricious beast, at face or voice. Since, then, the statesman must not treat even these matters carelessly, ought he to neglect the things which affect his life and character.

 $<sup>^{\</sup>rm a}$  Miltiades was the victorious general at Marathon, 490 n.c.

(800) καθαρά καὶ διαβολής άπάσης; οὐ γὰρ ὧν λέγουσιν έν κοινώ και πράττουσιν οι πολιτευόμενοι μόνον εὐθύνας διδόασιν, άλλά καὶ δεῖπνον αὐτῶν πολυπραγμονείται καὶ κοίτη καὶ γάμος καὶ παιδιά καὶ σπουδή πασα. τί γαρ δεί λέγειν 'Αλκιβιάδην. ον περί τὰ κοινά πάντων ένερνότατον όντα καί στρατηνόν αήττητον απώλεσεν ή περί την δίαιταν άναγωνία και θρασύτης, και τῶν ἄλλων ἀναθῶν αὐτοῦ τὴν πόλιν ἀνόνητον ἐποίησε διὰ τὴν πολυτέλειαν καὶ τὴν ἀκολασίαν: ὅπου καὶ Κίμωνος οῦτοι Ε τον οίνον, καὶ 'Ρωμαΐοι Σκιπίωνος οὐδέν ἄλλο ένοντες λένειν τον ύπνον ητιώντο. Πομπήιον δέ Μάγνον ελοιδόρουν οἱ εχθροί, παραφυλάξαντες ενὶ δακτύλω την κεφαλήν κνώμενον. ώς γάρ έν προσώπω φακός και άκροχορδών δυσχεραίνεται μαλλον ή στίγματα καὶ κολοβότητες καὶ οὐλαὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ σώματος, οὕτω τὰ μικρὰ φαίνεται μενάλα τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων ἐν ἡγεμονικοῖς καὶ πολιτικοῖς όρωμενα βίοις δια δόξαν, ην οί πολλοί περί άρχης καὶ πολιτείας έχουσιν, ώς πράγματος μεγάλου καὶ καθαρεύειν άξιου πάσης άτοπίας καὶ πλημ-F μελείας. εἰκότως οὖν Λιούιος¹ Δροῦσος ὁ δημαγωγός εὐδοκίμησεν ότι, τῆς οἰκίας αὐτοῦ πολλά μέρη κάτοπτα τοις γειτνιώσιν έχούσης και τών τεχνιτών τινος ὑπισχνουμένου ταῦτ' ἀποστρέψειν καί μεταθήσειν από πέντε μόνων ταλάντων, " δέκα," ἔφη, " λαβών ὅλην μου ποίησον καταφανή την οίκίαν, ίνα πάντες όρωσιν οί πολίται πως διαιτώμαι "· καὶ γὰρ ἦν ἀνὴρ σώφρων καὶ

<sup>1</sup> Λιούιος Xylander: λεούιος or ἰούλιος.

<sup>Cf. Moralia, 972 F.
Cf. Moralia, 89 E, with note α in Babbitt's translation</sup> 

that they may be clear of blame and ill report of every kind? For not only are men in public life held responsible for their public words and actions. but people busy themselves with all their concerns: dinner, love affair, marriage, amusement, and every serious interest. What need is there, for instance, to speak of Alcibiades, who, though he was most active of all the citizens in public affairs and was undefeated as general, was ruined by his audacious and dissolute habits in private life, and, because of his extravagance and lack of restraint, deprived the State of the benefit of his other good qualities? Why, the Athenians blamed Cimon for wine-drinking, and the Romans, having nothing else to say, blamed Scipio a for sleeping; and the enemies of Pompey the Great, observing that he scratched his head with one finger, reviled him for it.b For, just as a mole or a wart on the face is more unpleasant than brandmarks, mutilations, or sears on other parts of the body, so small faults appear great when observed in the lives of leaders and statesmen on account of the opinion which the majority has of governing and public office, regarding it as a great thing which ought to be clean of all eccentricities and errors. With good reason, therefore, did Livius Drusus the when many parts of

w of his neighbours

and an artisan promised to turn them the other way and change their position for only five talents, Drusus replied, "Take ten and make the whole house open to view, that all the citizens may see how I live." For he was a man of temperate and

<sup>(</sup>L.C.L.), where the habit is spoken of as a mark of effeminacy and licentiousness.

κόσμιος. ἴσως δὲ ταύτης οὐδὲν ἔδει τῆς καταφανείας αὐτῷ διορώσι γὰρ οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ τὰ πάνυ βαθέως περιαμπέχεσθαι δοκοῦντα τῶν πολιτευο-801 μένων ἤθη καὶ βουλεύματα καὶ πράξεις καὶ βίους, οὐχ ἦττον ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων ἢ τῶν δημοσίων ἐπιτηδευμάτων τὸν μὲν φιλοῦντες καὶ θαυμάζοντες

τον δε δυσχεραίνοντες και καταφρονοῦντες.

Τί οῦν δή; οὐχὶ καὶ τοῖς ἀσελγῶς καὶ τεθρυμμένως ζῶσιν αἱ πόλεις χρῶνται; καὶ γὰρ αἱ κιττῶσαι λίθους καὶ οἱ ναυτιῶντες ἀλμυρίδας καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα βρώματα διώκουσι πολλάκις, εἶτ' ὀλίγον ὕστερον ἐξέπτυσαν καὶ ἀπεστράψησαν οῦτω καὶ οἱ δῆμοι διὰ τρυψὴν καὶ ὕβριν ἡ βελτιόνων ἀπορία δημα-Β γωγῶν χρῶνται τοῖς ἐπιτυχοῦσι βδελυττόμενοι καὶ καταψρονοῦντες, εἶτα χαίρουσι τοιούτων εἰς αὐτοὺς λεγομένων, οἱα Πλάτων ὁ κωμικὸς τὸν Δῆμον αὐτὸν λέγοντα ποιεῦ:

λαβοῦ, λαβοῦ τῆς χειρὸς ὡς τάχιστά μου, μέλλω στρατηγόν χειροτονεῦν ᾿Αγύρριον·
καὶ πάλιν αἰτοῦντα λεκάνην καὶ πτερόν, ὅπως ἐμέση, λέγοντα

προσίσταταί μου πρὸς τὸ βῆμα Μαντίας καὶ

βόσκει δυσώδη Κέφαλον, έχθίστην νόσον.

ό δὲ Ῥωμαίων δῆμος, ὑπισχνουμένου τι Κάρβωνος καὶ προστιθέντος ὅρκον δή τινα καὶ ἀράν, ἀντώμοσεν ὅμοῦ μὴ πιστεύειν. ἐν δὲ Λακεδαίμονι

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>o</sup> Kock, Com. Att. Frag. i. p. 652, no. 185; on Agyrrhius cf. Aristophanes, Plutus, 176.

well-ordered life. And perhaps he had no need of that exposure to the public view; for the people see through the characters, counsels, acts, and lives of public men, even those that seem to be very thickly cloaked; they love and admire one man and dislike and despise another quite as much for his

private as for his public practices.

"But," you say, "do not States put in office men who live licentiously and wantonly?" They do, and pregnant women often long for stones, and seasick persons for salt pickles and the like, which then a little later they spew out and detest. So the people of democracies, because of the luxury of their own lives or through sheer perversity, or for lack of better leaders, make use of those who happen to turn up, though they loathe and despise them, then take pleasure in hearing such things said about them as the comic poet Plato puts into the mouth of the People itself:

Take, take my hand as quickly as you can; I'm going to choose Agyrrhius general a;

and again, when he makes the People ask for a basin and a feather in order to vomit and then say,

Beside my platform Mantias takes his stand, b and

It feeds foul Cephalus, most hateful pest.

And the Roman people, when Carbo promised something and confirmed his promise with an oath and a curse, unanimously took a counter-oath that it did not trust him. And at Lacedaemon, when a

From the same play as the preceding.

C τινὸς Δημοσθένους¹ ἀνδρὸς ἀκολάστου γνώμην (801) εἰπόντος άρμόζουσαν, ἀπέρρυψεν ὁ δημος, οἱ δ' "Εφοροι κληρώσαντες ἔνα τῶν γερόντων ἐκέλευσαν εἰπεῖν τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον ἐκεῖνον, ὥσπερ εἰς καθαρὸν ἀγγεῖον ἐκ ῥυπαροῦ μετεράσαντες,² ὅπως εὐπρόσδεκτος γένηται τοῖς πολλοῖς. οὔτω μεγάλην ἔχει ροπὴν ἐν πολιτεία πίστις ἤθους καὶ τοὐναντίον.

5. Ο η μην αμελητέον γε διὰ τοῦτο τῆς περὶ τὸν λόγον χάριτος καὶ δυνάμεως ἐν ἀρετῆ θεμένους τὸ σύμπαν, ἀλλὰ την ρητορικήν νομίσαντας μη δημιουργὸν ἀλλά τοι συνεργὸν είναι πειθοῦς, ἐπανορθωτέον τὸ τοῦ Μενάνδρου

τρόπος ἔσθ' ὁ πείθων τοῦ λέγοντος, οὐ λόγος.

καὶ γὰρ ὁ τρόπος καὶ ὁ λόγος: εἰ μὴ νὴ Δία φήσει τις, ὡς τὸν κυβερνήτην ἄγειν τὸ πλοῖον οὐ τὸ πηΒ δάλιον, καὶ τὸν ἰππέα στρέφειν τὸν ἴππον οὐ τὸν 
χαλινόν, οὕτω πόλιν πείθειν οὐ λόγω, ἀλλὰ τρόπω 
χρωμένην ὥσπερ οἴακι καὶ χαλινῷ τὴν πολιτικὴν 
ἀρετήν, ἢπερ⁴ εὐστροφώτατον ζῷον, ὡς φησι Πλάτων, οἶον ἐκ πρύμνης ἀπτομένην καὶ κατευθύνουσαν. 
ὅπου γὰρ οἱ μεγάλοι βασιλεῖς ἐκείνοι καὶ διογενεῖς, 
ώς ¨Ομηρός φησιν, ἀλουργίσι καὶ σκήπτροις καὶ 
δορυφόροις καὶ θεῶν χρησμοῖς ἐξογκοῦσιν ἐαυτούς, 
καὶ δουλούμενοι τῆ σεμνότητι τοὺς πολλοὺς ὡς

Δημοσθένους] Τιμοσθένους Madvig,
 μετεράσωντες Dübner: μετακεράσωντες,
 νομίσωντας Madvig: νομίσωντες είναι.
 ἢπερ Capps (cf. Plato's ἢ): ὅπερ.

Kock, Com. Att. Frag. iii. p. 135, no. 472.

dissolute man named Demosthenes made a desirable motion, the people rejected it, but the ephors chose by lot one of the elders and told him to make that same motion, in order that it might be made acceptable to the people, thus pouring, as it were, from a dirty vessel into a clean one. So great is the importance, in a free State, of confidence or lack of confidence in a man's character.

5. However, we should not on this account neglect the charm and power of eloquence and ascribe everything to virtue, but, considering oratory to be, not the creator of persuasion but certainly its coworker, we should correct Menander's line.

The speaker's nature, not his speech, persuades,"

for both his nature and his speech do so; unless, indeed, one is to affirm that just as the helmsman, not the tiller, steers the ship, and the rider, not the rein, turns the horse, so political virtue, employing, not speech, but the speaker's character as tiller or rein, sways a State, laying hold of it and directing it, as it were, from the stern, which is, in fact, as Plato says, b the easiest way of turning an animal about. For those great and, as Homer calls them, "Zeusdescended" kings pad themselves out with purple robes and sceptres and guards and divine oracles, and although they enslaved the multitude by their grandeur, as if they were superior beings, they

b Critias, 109 c "only it was not our bodies that they [the gods] constrained by bodily force, like shepherds guiding ther flocks by stroke of staff, but they directed from the stern, where the living creature is easiest to turn about (β μάλιστα εύστροφον ζώον), laying hold on the soul by persuasion, as by a rudder, according to their own disposition" (trans. R. G. Bury in L.C.L.).

κρείττονες, ὅμως ἐβούλοντο ΄΄ μύθων ῥητῆρες ΄΄ εἶναι καὶ οὐκ ἠμέλουν τῆς τοῦ λέγειν χάριτος,

οὐδ' ἀγορέων, ἵνα τ' ἄνδρες ἀριπρεπέες τελέθουσιν,

Ε οὐδὲ Διὸς Βουλαίου μόνον ἔχρηζον οὐδ' "Αρεος Ένυαλίου καὶ Στρατίας 'Αθηνᾶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν Καλλιόπην παρεκάλουν

η δη βασιλεῦσιν ἄμ' αἰδοίσισιν ὀπηδεῖ,

πραύνουσα πειθοί καὶ κατάδουσα τῶν δήμων τὸ αὔθαδες καὶ βίαιον ἢ που δυνατὸν ἄνθρωπον ἰδιώτην ἐξ ἱματίου καὶ σχήματος δημοτικοῦ πόλιν ἄγειν βουλόμενον ἐξισχύσαι καὶ κρατήσαι τῶν πολῶν, εἰ μὴ λόγον ἔχοι συμπείθοντα καὶ προσαγόμενον; F οἱ μὲν οὖν τὰ πλοῖα κυβερνῶντες ἔτέροις χρῶνται κελευσταῖς, ὁ δὲ πολιτικός ἐν ἔαυτῷ μὲν ὀφείλει τὸν κυβερνῶντα νοῦν ἔχειν ἐν ἔαυτῷ δὲ τὸν ἐγκελευόμενον λόγον, ὅπως μὴ δέηται φωνῆς ἀλλοτρίας μηδ ἄσπερ Ἰφικράτης ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ ἸΑριστοφῶντα καταρρητορευόμενος λέγη " βελτίων μὲν ὁ τῶν ἀντιδίκων ὑποκριτὴς δρᾶμα δὲ τοὐμὸν ἄμεινον," μηδὲ πολλάκις δέηται τῶν Εὐριπιδείων ἐκείνων

είθ' ήν ἄφωνον σπέρμα δυστήνων βροτών

802 καὶ

φεῦ φεῦ, τὸ μὴ τὰ πράγματ' ἀνθρώποις ἔχειν φωνήν, ἵν' ἦσαν μηδὲν οἱ δεινοὶ λέγειν.

<sup>1</sup> μόνον Benseler: μόνου.

<sup>2</sup> δή] γὰρ καὶ Hesiod.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> κατάδουσα, suggested by Wyttenbach (also καταδέουσα, καταιδούσα Bernardakis): καταδούσα.

wished nevertheless to be "speakers of words" and they did not neglect the charm of speech,

Nor the assemblies in which men make themselves greatly distinguished.

and they worshipped not only Zeus of the Council, Arcs Enyalius, and Athena of War, but they invoked also Calliope,

who accompanies reverend monarchs,

softening by persuasion and overcoming by charms the fierce and violent spirit of the people. How, then, is it possible that a private person of ordinary costume and mien who wishes to lead a State may gain power and rule the multitude unless he possesses persuasion and attractive speech? Now the pilots of ships employ others to give orders to the rowers, but the statesman needs to have in himself the mind that steers and also in himself the speech that gives orders, that he may not require some other man's voice and be obliged to say, as Iphicrates did when defeated through the cloquence of Aristophon's orators, "My opponents' actor is better, but superior my play," and may not often need those lines of Euripides,

Oh that the seed of wretched men were mute,

#### and

Ah, would that deeds of men possessed a voice, That clever speakers might become as naught <sup>d</sup>;

a Homer, Il. ix. 441.

b Hesiod, Theog. 80.

Nauck, Trag. Graec. Frag. p. 678, no. 987.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Nauck, Trag. Grasc. Frag. p. 494, no. 439, from the first Hippolytus.

(802) ταθτα μέν γάρ ΐσως 'Αλκαμένει καὶ Νησιώτη καὶ 'Ικτίνω καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς βαναύσοις καὶ γειρώναξι τὸ δύνασθαι λένειν απομνυμένοις δοτέον αποδιδράσκειν ωσπερ 'Αθήνησιν άρχιτεκτόνων ποτέ δυείν έξεταζομένων πρός δημόσιον έργον ό μέν αίμύλος καί κομψός είπεῖν λόγον τινά διελθών περί τῆς κατασκευής μεμελετημένον εκίνησε τον δήμον, δ Β δὲ βελτίων τῆ τέχνη λέγειν δ' ἀδύνατος, παρελθών είς μέσον είπεν "ἄνδρες 'Αθηναίοι, ώς οὖτος είρηκεν, έγω ποιήσω." την γάρ Έργανην οθτοι μόνον θεραπεύουσιν, ως φησι Σοφοκλής, οἱ ΄΄ παρ' ἄκμονι τυπάδι βαρεία ΄΄ καὶ πληγαῖς ὑπακούουσαν ύλην ἄψυχον δημιουργοῦντες· δ΄ δὲ τῆς Πολιάδος 'Αθηνας και της Βουλαίας Θέμιδος.

η τ' ανδρών αγοράς ημέν λύει ήδε καθίζει,

į

προφήτης, ένὶ χρώμενος ὀργάνω τῷ λόγω τὰ μὲν πλάττων καὶ συναρμόττων, τὰ δ' ἀντιστατοῦντα πρός τὸ ἔργον ὥσπερ ὄζους τινὰς ἐν ξύλω καὶ διπλόας ἐν σιδήρω μαλάσσων καὶ καταλεαίνων, C κοσμεῖ τὴν πόλιν. διὰ τοῦτ' ἦν¹ ἡ κατὰ Περικλέα πολιτεία '' λόνω μέν,' ως φησι Θουκυδίδης, " δημοκρατία, έργω δ' ύπο τοῦ πρώτου ἀνδρος άρχη " διὰ την τοῦ λόγου δύναμιν. ἐπεὶ καὶ Κίμων ἀγαθὸς ἦν καὶ Ἐφιάλτης καὶ Θουκυδίδης, ἀλλ' ἐρωτηθεὶς οὖτος ὑπ' ᾿Λρχιδάμου τοῦ² βασιλέως των Σπαρτιατών πότερον αὐτὸς η Περικλης

<sup>1</sup> πν added by Bernardakis. 2 700 added by Bernardakis.

a Alcamenes and Nesiotes were sculptors of the fifth century B.c. Ictinus was architect of the Parthenon.

for these sayings ought perhaps to be granted as a refuge to Alcamenes, Nesiotes, Ictinus, and all artisans and craftsmen if they take an oath that they are no speakers; as once at Athens, when two architects were being questioned with a view to a public work, one of them, a wheedling and elegant speaker, moved the people by declaiming a prepared speech about the construction of it, but the other, who was a better architect but lacked the power of speech, came forward and said: "Men of Athens, what he has said, I will do." For, as Sophoeles says, only those are servants of the goddess of artistry who "on the anvil with a heavy hammer" and with blows work the yielding and inanimate material of their art. But the spokesman for Athena of the City and Themis of Counsel,

She who dismisses assemblies of men and who also convenes them,  ${}^{\sigma}$ 

employing speech as his only instrument, moulding and adapting some things and softening and smoothing off those which are hindrances to his work, such as would be knots in wood or flaws in iron, is an ornament to the city. For this reason the government in Pericles' time was "in name," as Thucydides says, i a democracy, but in fact the rule of the foremost man," because of his power of speech. For Cimon also was a good man, as were Ephialtes and Thucydides, but when the last named was asked by Archidamus King of the Spartans whether he

Nauck, Trag. Grace. Frag. p. 309, no. 760, perhaps from the satyr drama Pandora. c Homer, Od. ii. 69.

d Cf. Plato, Sophist, 267 E.

Thucydides, ii. 65. 8.

(802) παλαίει βέλτιον "οὐκ ἂν εἰδείη τις" εἶπεν "ὅταν γάρ έγω καταβάλω παλαίων, έκεινος λένων μή πεπτωκέναι νικά καὶ πείθει τοὺς θεωμένους. τοῦτο δ' οὐκ αὐτῶ μόνον¹ ἐκείνω δόξαν ἀλλὰ καὶ τη πόλει σωτηρίαν έφερε πειθομένη γάρ αὐτῶ την υπάρχουσαν εὐδαιμονίαν ἔσωζε, τῶν δ' ἐκτὸς D ἀπείγετο. Νικίας δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν προαίρεσιν ἔχων, πειθούς δὲ τοιαύτης ἐνδεὴς ὢν καὶ καθάπερ ἀμβλεῖ γαλινώ τω λόγω πειρώμενος αποστρέφειν τον δημον, οὐ κατέσχεν οὐδ' ἐκράτησεν, ἀλλ' ἄχετο βία φερόμενος είς Σικελίαν και συνεκτραγηλιζόμενος, τὸν μὲν οὖν λύκον οὖ φασι τῶν ὧτων κρατείν, δήμον δε και πόλιν έκ των ώτων άνειν δει μάλιστα, μή, καθάπερ ένιοι των αγυμνάστων περί λόγον λαβάς αμούσους και απέχνους ζητοθντες έν τοις, πολλοις της γαστρός έλκουσιν εὐωχούντες η του βαλλαντίου διδόντες, η πυρρίχας τινάς η μονομάχων θεάματα παρασκευάζοντες άει δημ-Ε αγωγούσι, μαλλον δὲ δημοκοπούσι. δημαγωγία ναο ή δια λόγου πειθομένων ἐστίν, αί δὲ τοιαῦται τιθασεύσεις των όχλων οὐδεν άλόγων ζώων άνρας καὶ βουκολήσεως διαφέρουσιν. 6. 'Ο μέντοι λόγος έστω τοῦ πολιτικοῦ μήτε νεαρός και θεατρικός, ώσπερ πανηγυρίζοντος και στεφανηπλοκούντος έξ άπαλών καὶ ἀνθηρών όνο-

μάτων μήτ' αὖ πάλιν, ώς ὁ Πυθέας τὸν Δημοσθένους έλεγεν, ελλυχνίων όζων καὶ σοφιστικής F περιεργίας ενθυμήμασι πικροίς και περιόδοις πρός κανόνα και διαβήτην απηκριβωμέναις άλλ' ώσπερ

οί μουσικοί την θίξιν άξιουσι των χορδών ήθικην

<sup>1</sup> μόνον Benseler: μόνω.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> όζων Meziriacus: όζειν.

or Pericles was the better wrestler, he replied, "Nobody can tell; for whenever I throw him in wrestling, he says he was not thrown and wins by persuading the onlookers." And this brought not only reputation to Pericles but safety to the State; for while it was swaved by him it preserved its existing prosperity and refrained from foreign entanglements. But Nicias, whose policy was the same, but who lacked such power of persuasion and tried to rein in the people with speech as easy as a snaffle, could not restrain or master it, but against his will went off to Sicily on its back and together with it came a cropper. The wolf, they say, cannot be held by the ears; but one must lead a people or a State chiefly by the ears, not, as some do who have no practice in speaking and seek uncultured and inartistic holds upon the people, pulling them by the belly by means of banquets or gifts of money or arranging ballet-dances or gladiatorial shows, by which they lead the common people or rather curry favour with them. For leadership of a people is leadership of those who are persuaded by speech; but enticing the mob by such means as have just been mentioned is exactly like catching and herding irrational beasts.

6. The speech of the statesman, however, must not be juvenile and theatrical, as if he were making a speech for show and weaving a garland of delicate and flowery words; on the other hand it must not, as Pytheas said of the speech of Demosthenes, smell of the lamp and elaborate literary labour, with sharp arguments and with periods precisely measured by rule and compass. Note that the touch upon

καταφαίνεσθαι μὴ κρουστικήν, οὔτω τῷ λόγω τοῦ παλιτευομένου καὶ συμβουλεύοντος καὶ ἄρχοντος ἐπιφαινέσθω μὴ δεινότης μηδὲ πανουργία, μηδὲ εἰς ἔπαινου αὐτοῦ τιθέσθω τὸ ἔκτικῶς ἢ τεχνικῶς ἢ διαιρετικῶς, ἀλλ' ἤθους ἀπλάστου καὶ φρονήματος ἀληθινοῦ καὶ παρρησίας πατρικῆς καὶ προνοίας καὶ 803 συνέσεως κηδομένης ὁ λόγος ἔστω μεστός, ἐπὶ τῷ καλῷ τὸ κεχαρισμένον ἔχων καὶ ἀγωγὸν ἔκ το εινῶν ὀνομάτων καὶ νοημάτων ἰδίων καὶ πιθανῶν, δέχεται δ' ὁ πολιτικὸς λόγος δικανικοῦ μᾶλλον καὶ γνωμολογίας καὶ ἱστορίας καὶ μύθους καὶ μεταφοράς, αἰς μάλιστα κινοῦσιν οἱ χρώμενοι μετρίως καὶ κατὰ καιρόν ὡς ὁ εἰπων '' μὴ ποιήσητε ἐτερόφαλμον τὴν 'Ἑλλάδα,'' καὶ Δημάδης τὰ νουαίγια λέγων πολιτεύεσθαι τῆς πόλεως, καὶ 'Αρχίλοχος

μηδ' δ Ταντάλου λίθος τῆσδ' ὑπὲρ νήσου κρεμάσθω·

καὶ Περικλῆς τὴν λήμην τοῦ Πειραιῶς ἀφελεῖν κελεύων καὶ Φωκίων ἐπὶ τῆς Λεωσθένους νίκης Β καλόν τό στάδιον εἶναι, δεδιέναι δὲ τοῦ πολέμου τὸν δόλιχον. καθόλου δ' ὁ μὲν ὄγκος καὶ τό μέγεθος τῷ πολιτικῷ μᾶλλον ἀρμόττει, παράδειγμα δ' οἴ τε Φιλιππικοὶ καὶ τῶν Θουκυδίδου δημηγοριῶν ἡ Σθενελαΐδα τοῦ Ἐφόρου καὶ ᾿Αρχιδάμου

<sup>&</sup>quot;I'hese seem to be somewhat technical words employed by the rhetoricians.

b Of. Aristotle, Rhetoric, iii. 1017, p. 1411 A; said by the Athenian orator Leptines, in opposing the destruction of Sparta, one of the "eyes of Greece."

Cf. Life of Phocion, chap. i.
 Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Graec. ii. p. 396.

<sup>\*</sup> Cf. Life of Perioles, chap. viii. The reference is

ing, not mere technique, so the speech of the statesman, counsellor, and ruler must not exhibit shrewdness or subtlety, and it must not be to his credit to speak fluently or artistically or distributively. but his speech must be full of unaffected character. a father's frankness, foresight. concern for others. His speech must also have, in a good cause, a charm that pleases and a winning persuasiveness; in addition to nobility of purpose it must possess grace arising from stately diction and appropriate and persuasive thoughts. And political oratory, much more than that used in a court of law, admits maxims, historical and mythical tales, and metaphors, by means of which those who employ them sparingly and at the proper moment move their audiences exceedingly; as did he who said "Do not make Hellas one-eyed," b and Demades when he said he was "governing the wreck of the State," and Archilochus saying

Nor let the stone of Tantalus Hang o'er the head of this our isle,

and Pericles when he bade the Athenians to remove "the eyesore of the Peiraeus," and Photion when he said with reference to the victory of Leosthenes that the furlong race of the war was good, but he was fearful about the long-distance race. And, in general, loftiness and grandeur of style are more fitting for political speech; examples are the Philippics and among the speeches in Thucydides that of the ephor Sthenelaïdas, that of King Archi-

to Aegina, whose thriving commerce threatened the prosperity of the Peiraeus.

(803) τοῦ βασιλέως ἐν Πλαταιαῖς καὶ Περικλέους ἡ μετὰ τὸν λοιμόν ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν Ἐφόρου καὶ Θεοπόμπου καὶ ᾿Αναξιμένους ἡητορειῶν καὶ περιόδων, ἄς περαίνουσιν ἔζοπλίσαντες τὰ στρατεύματα καὶ παρατάξαντες, ἔστιν εἰπεῦν

οὐδεὶς σιδήρου ταῦτα μωραίνει πέλας.

7. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ σκῶμμα καὶ γελοῖον ἔστιν ότε γίγνεται πολιτικοῦ λόγου μέρος, εἰ μὴ πρὸς Ο ύβριν η βωμολοχίαν, άλλα χρησίμως ἐπιπλήττοντος η διασύροντος λέγοιτο. μάλιστα δ' εὐδοκιμεῖ τὰ τοιαῦτα περὶ τὰς ἀμείψεις καὶ τὰς ἀπαντήσεις· τό νὰρ ἐκ παρασκευῆς καὶ κατάρχοντα γελωτοποιούντος έστι και δόξα κακοηθείας πρόσεστιν, ώς προσήν τοις Κικέρωνος σκώμμασι και τοις Κάτωνος τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου καὶ Εὐξιθέου τοῦ ᾿Αριστοτέλους συνήθους οῦτοι γὰρ ἔσκωπτον ἀρχόμενοι πολλάκις, άμυνομένω δέ συγγνώμην αμα καί γάριν ο καιρός δίδωσι, καθάπερ Δημοσθένει πρὸς τὸν αἰτίαν ἔχοντα Γ) κλέπτειν χλευάζοντα δ' αὐτοῦ τὰς νυκτογραφίας, " οίδ' ότι σε λυπῶ λύχνον καίων"· καὶ πρὸς Δημάδην βοῶντα Δημοσθένης ἐμὲ βούλεται διορθοῦν " ἡ ὖs τὴν 'Αθηνᾶν," " αὕτη μέντοι πέρυσιν ή 'Αθηνα μοιχεύουσα έλήφθη." χάριεν δε καὶ τὸ Ξεναινέτου πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας λοιδοροῦντας αὐτὸν ὅτι στρατηγὸς ὢν πέφευγε, '' μεθ' ὑμῶν γ', ὧ

b Nauck, Trag. Graec. Frag. p. 441, l. 22; from the

Autolycus of Euripides.

<sup>&</sup>quot; Thucydides, i. 86; ii. 72; ii. 60.

These two reforts are recorded by Plutarch, Life of Demosthenes, chap. xi. p. 851. The second obviously refers to misconduct on the part of Demades. "The sow (teaches 184

damus at Plataea, and that of Pericles after the pestilence.<sup>a</sup> But as for the rhetorical efforts and grand periods of Ephorus, Theopompus, and Anaximenes, which they deliver after they have armed and drawn up the armies, it can be said of them,

None talks so foolishly when near the steel.

7. It is true, however, that derision and ridicule are sometimes proper parts of the statesman's speech if employed, not as insults or buffoonery, but for needful reproof and disparagement. sort of thing is most laudable in rejoinders and replies; for when employed of set purpose and without provocation, it makes the speaker appear to be a clown and carries with it a suspicion of malice, such as was attached to the ridicule in the speeches of Cicero, Cato the Elder, and Aristotle's pupil Euxitheüs, all of whom frequently employed ridicule without previous provocation. But for one who employs it in self-defence the occasion makes it pardonable and at the same time pleasing, as when Demosthenes, in reply to a man who was suspected of being a thief and who mocked him for writing at night, said, " I am aware that I offend you by keeping a light burning," and to Demades who shouted, "Demosthenes would correct me-'the sow correcting Athena," he replied, "Yes, your Athena was caught in adultery last year!" Witty too was Xenaenetus's rejoinder to the citizens who reviled him for running away when he was general, "Yes,

or contends with) Athena "was a proverbial expression; of. Theocritus, Idyl, v. 23. As sus (docet) Minervam the proverb was current in Latin; of. Festus, p. 310 Müller, p. 408 Lindsay; Cicero, Ad Familiares, ix. 18. 3; Academica, i. 4. 18; De Oratore, ii. 57. 233.

φίλαι κεφαλαί." τὸ δ' ἄγαν φυλακτέον ἐν τῶ νελοίω καὶ τὸ λυποῦν ἀκαίρως τοὺς ἀκούοντας η τον λέγοντα ποιοῦν ἀγεννη καὶ ταπεινόν, ώσπερ τὰ Δημοκράτους: ἀναβαίνων μέν γὰρ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν έφη, καθάπερ ή πόλις, μικρόν ἰσχύειν καὶ μέγα φυσάν έν δε τοις Χαιρωνικοίς παρελθών είς τον Ε δήμον, " οὐκ ἄν ἐβουλόμην κακῶς οὕτω πεπρανέναι την πόλιν, ώστε καμοῦ συμβουλεύοντος ύμας άκούειν " καὶ γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο μικροῦ κάκεῖνο μανικοῦ, πολιτικῶ δ' οὐδέτερον άρμόττον. Φωκίωνος δέ και την βραχυλογίαν έθαύμαζον ό γοῦν Πολύευκτος ἀπεφαίνετο ρήτορα μέγιστον είναι Δημο-σθένην, δεινότατον δ' είπειν Φωκίωνα πλείστον γάρ αὐτοῦ τὸν λόγον ἐν λέξει βραχυτάτη νοῦν περιέχειν. και ό Δημοσθένης τῶν ἄλλων καταφρονῶν εἰώθει λέγειν, ανισταμένου Φωκίωνος, "ή των εμων λόγων κοπὶς ἀνίσταται."

Τ 8. Μάλιστα μὲν οὖν ἐσκεμμένω πειρῶ καὶ μὴ διακένω τῷ λόγω χρῆσθαι πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς μετ' ἀσφαλείας, εἰδῶς ὅτι καὶ Περικλῆς ἐκεῖνος εὐχετο³ πρὸ τοῦ δημηγορεῖν μηδὲ ῥῆμα μηδὲν ἀλλότριον τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπελθεῖν αὐτῷ. δεῖ δ³ ὅμως και πρὸς τὰς ἀπαντήσεις τὸν λόγον εὕστροφον ἔχειν

804 και γεγυμνασμένον όξεις γὰρ οι καιροί και πολλά φέροντες ἐν ταις πολιτείαις αιφνίδια. διό και Δημοσθένης ήλαττοῦτο πολλῶν, ὡς φασι, παρὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἀναδυόμενος και κατοκνῶν 'Αλκιβιάδην δ' ὁ Θεόφραστος ἱστορεῖ, μὴ μόνον ἃ δεῖ λέγειν ἀλλὰ

1 πεπραγέναι Herwerden: πεπραχέναι. 2 εύχετο Bernardakis: ηύχετο.

<sup>·</sup> Cf. Life of Alcibiades, chap. x.

to keep you company, my dears." But in jesting one must guard against going too far and against offending one's hearers by jesting at the wrong moment or making the speaker appear ignoble and mean-spirited, as Democrates did; for he went up into the assembly and said that he, like the State, had little strength but much bluster, and at the time of the disaster at Chaeroneia he came forward among the people and said, "I wish the State had not met with so great a misfortune as to make you listen even to me as adviser," for this remark showed him to be mean-spirited, the other to be crazy, and neither is becoming to a statesman. But in Phocion conciseness of speech was admired. At any rate Polyeuctus declared that Demosthenes was the greatest orator, but Phocion the cleverest in speaking, because his speech contained the most meaning in the fewest words. And Demosthenes, though he despised the other orators, used to say when Phocion rose to speak, "The cleaver of my speeches is getting up."

8. Most of all, then, try to employ in addressing the people well-considered, not empty, speech, and to use precaution, knowing that even the great Pericles used to pray before making a public speech that no single utterance foreign to the matter in hand might occur to him. But nevertheless the orator must always keep his speech nimble and in good practice for making apt rejoinders; for occasions arise quickly and often bring with them in public affairs sudden developments. That is why Demosthenes was inferior to many, as they say, because he drew back and hesitated when the occasion called for the opposite course. And Theophrastus tells us that Alcibiades, because he planned, not only to say

(804) καὶ ώς δεῖ βουλευόμενον, πολλάκις ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ λέγειν ζητούντα καὶ συντιθέντα τὰς λέξεις ένίσγεσθαι καὶ διαπίπτειν. ὁ δ' ὑπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτῶν ἀνιστάμενος καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν καιρῶν ἐκπλήττει μάλιστα καὶ προσάγεται τους πολλούς καὶ μετατίθησιν οίον ο Βυζάντιος Λέων ήκε δή ποτε τοίς Αθηναίοις στασιάζουσι διαλεξόμενος όφθεις δέ Β μικρός καὶ νελασθείς "τί δ' ' είπεν " εί την νυναικά μου θεάσαισθε μόλις έξικνουμένην πρός τὸ γόνυ; '' πλείων οὖν ἐγένετο νέλως '' ἀλλ' ἡμῆς '' γόνυ;'' πλείων οὖν ἐγένετο γέλως '' ἀλλ' ἡμᾶς '' ἔφη '' μικροὺς οὕτως ὄντας, ὅταν διαφερώμεθα πρός άλληλους, ή Βυζαντίων πόλις οὐ γωρεί." Πυθέας δ' δ δήτωρ, ότε πρός τὰς 'Αλεξάνδρου τιμάς άντέλεγεν, εἰπόντος τινός " οὕτω σὸ νέος ὢν περί πραγμάτων τολμάς λέγειν τηλικούτων; '' καί μήν 'Αλέξανδρος '' είπεν '' έμοῦ νεώτερός έστιν, δν ψηφίζεσθε θεόν εΐναι."

9. Δεῖ δὲ καὶ φωνῆς εὐεξία καὶ πνεύματος ρώμη πρός οὐ φαϊλον ἀλλὰ πάμμαχον ἀγῶνα τὸν τῆς C πολιτείας ἡθληκότα κομίζειν τὸν λόγον, ὡς μὴ πολλάκις ἀπαγορεύοντα καὶ σβεννύμενον ὑπερβάλλη<sup>1</sup>

τις αὐτὸν

ἄρπαξ κεκράκτης, κυκλοβόρου φωνήν έχων.

Κάτων δέ, περὶ ὧν οὖκ ἤλπιζε πείσειν τῷ προκατέχεσθαι χάρισι καὶ σπουδαῖς τὸν δῆμον ἢ τὴν βουλήν, ἔλεγε τὴν ἡμέραν ὅλην ἀναστὰς καὶ τὸν

<sup>1</sup> ὑπερβάλλη Bernardakis: ὑπερβάλλοι.

b Aristophanes, Knights, 137. The reference is to Cleon. 188

a The name Leo, "lion," made the little man seem ridiculous.

the right thing, but to say it in the right way, often while actually speaking would search for words and arrange them into sentences, thereby causing hesitation and failure. But the man who is so moved by the events which take place and the opportunities which offer themselves that he springs to his feet is the one who most thrills the crowd, attracts it, and carries it with him. So it was, for example, with Leo a of Byzantium; he once came to address the Athenians when they were in political discord, and when they laughed at him because he was a little man, he said, "What if you should see my wife, who hardly comes up to my knee?" Then when they laughed louder, "And yet," he said, "little as we are, when we quarrel with each other, the city of Byzantium is not big enough to hold us." So also when Pytheas the orator was speaking in opposition to the granting of honours to Alexander and someone said to him, "Do you, at your age, dare to speak on such important matters?" he replied: "And yet Alexander is younger than I, and you are voting to make him a god,"

9. And the statesman must bring to the struggle of statecraft—a struggle which is not unimportant, but calls for all one's fighting power—speech which is severely trained in firmness of voice and strength of lungs, that he may not be frequently so weary

and burnt out as to be defeated by some

Rapacious bawler with a torrent's voice.

Cato, when he had no hope of winning his cause by persuasion because the popular assembly or the senate was gained over beforehand by favours and interests, used to get up and speak the whole day,

(804) καιρόν ούτως έξέκρουε. περί μέν οὖν τῆς τοῦ λόνου παρασκευής καὶ γρείας ίκανὰ ταῦτα τῶ δυναμένω τὸ ἀκόλουθον προσεξευρίσκειν.

10. Εἰσβολαὶ δὲ καὶ όδοὶ δύο τῶς πολιτείας είσιν, ή μέν τανεία και λαμπρά πρός δόξαν ου D μην ακίνδυνος, η δε πεζοτέρα και βραδυτέρα τὸ δ' ἀσφαλές ἔχουσα μαλλον. οι μέν γάρ εὐθὺς ώσπερ εξ άκρας πελανίου πράξεως επιφανούς καὶ μενάλης έγούσης δε τόλμαν άραντες άφηκαν έπί την πολιτείαν, ηνούμενοι λένειν δοθώς τον Πίνδαρον ώς

> άρχομένου δ' ἔργου πρόσωπον γρη θέμεν τηλαυνές.

καὶ γὰρ δέχονται προθυμότερον οἱ πολλοὶ κόρω τινί και πλησμονή των συνήθων τον αργόμενον. ωσπερ ανωνιστήν θεαταί, και τον φθόνον έκπλήττουσιν αί λαμπράν έγουσαι καὶ ταγεῖαν αὔξησιν Ε άρχαὶ καὶ δυνάμεις. οὖτε γὰρ πῦρ φησιν ὁ ᾿Αρίστων καπνόν ποιείν ούτε δόξαν φθόνον, ην εύθύς ἐκλάμψη καὶ ταχέως, ἀλλὰ τῶν κατὰ μικρὸν αὐξανομένων καὶ σχολαίως άλλον άλλαχόθεν ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι διό πολλοί πρίν ανθήσαι περί το βήμα κατεμαράνθησαν. ὅπου δ', ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ Λάδα λένουσιν.

ό ψόφος ην υσπληγος εν οὐασιν,

b l'aton's translation (in L.C.L.) of the phrase in Anth.

<sup>&</sup>quot; Ol. vi. 4. The translation is adapted from that of Sir John Sandys (L.C.L.).

thus destroying his opponents' opportunity. On the subject, then, of the preparation of one's speech and the way to use it these remarks are enough for one who has the ability to go on and discover the conclusions to be drawn from them.

10. There are two entrances to public life and two paths leading to it: one the quick and brilliant road to reputation, by no means without risk, the other more prosaic and slower, but safer. For some men launch out at once into political life with some conspicuous, great, and daring action, like men who launch a vessel from a promontory that juts out into the sea; they think Pindar is right in saying

To a work's beginning we needs must set A front that shines afar,

for the masses are more ready to accept the beginner because they are so palled and surfeited with those to whom they are accustomed, just as spectators at a show are glad to accept a new performer; and authority and power that has a brilliant and

cnvy, if it blazes up quickly at the start, but those who grow great gradually and slowly are attacked one from one side, another from another; hence many men before coming to full bloom as public speakers have withered away. But if, as is said of Ladas,

The noise o' the barrier's fall was in his ears b

Pal. xi. 86 on Pericles, quoted from the earlier epigram or Ladas, a famous runner of Sparta. The sudden cutting or loosening of the taut rope stretched across the starting-line was accompanied by an audible sound. See E. N. Gardiner, Jour. Hell. Studies xxiii. p. 262.

# PLUTARCH'S MORALIA ἔνθα κἀστεφανοῦτο¹ πρεσβεύων ἢ θριαμβεύων ἢ

στρατηγών ἐπιφανώς, οὖθ' οἱ φθονοῦντες οὔθ' οἱ καταφρονοῦντες ὁμοίως ἐπὶ τοιούτων ἰσχύουσιν. ούτω παρηλθεν είς δόξαν "Αρατος, άρχην ποιη-Γ σάμενος πολιτείας την Νικοκλέους τοῦ τυράγγου κατάλυσιν ούτως 'Αλκιβιάδης, τὰ Μαντινικὰ συστήσας έπι Λακεδαιμονίους. Πομπήιος δέ και θριαμβεύειν ήξίου μήπω παριών είς σύγκλητον οὐκ έωντος δε Σύλλα, "πλείονες" έφη "τον ήλιον ἀνατέλλοντα προσκυνοῦσιν ἢ δυόμενον΄΄ · καὶ Σύλλας ύπειξε τουτ' άκούσας. καί Σκιπίωνα δε Κορνήλιον οὐκ ἀφ' ης ἔτυχεν ἀρχης ὁ 'Ρωμαίων δημος ἀγορανομίαν μετερχόμενον εξαίφνης υπατον απέδειξε 805 παρά τὸν νόμον, ἀλλὰ θαυμάσας αὐτοῦ μειρακίου μέν όντος την έν 'Ιβηρία μονομαχίαν και νίκην, μικρόν δ' ύστερον τὰ πρὸς Καρχηδόνι χιλιαρχοῦντος έρνα, περί ών και Κάτων ο πρεσβύτερος άνεφώνησεν

οίος πέπνυται, τοὶ δὲ σκιαὶ ἀίσσουσιν.

νθν οὖν ὅτε τὰ πράγματα τῶν πόλεων οὐκ ἔχει πολέμων ἡγεμονίας οὐδὲ τυραννίδων καταλύσεις οὐδὲ συμμαχικὰς πράξεις, τιν ἄν τις ἀρχὴν ἐπιφανοῦς λάβοι καὶ λαμπρῶς πολιτείας; αὶ δίκαι τε λείπονται αι δημόσιαι καὶ πρεσβεῖαι πρὸς αὐτο-Β κράτορα ἀνδρὸς διαπύρου καὶ θάρσος ἄμα καὶ νοῦν ἔχοντος δεόμεναι. πολλὰ δ' ἔστι καὶ τῶν παρει-

¹ κάστεφανοῦτο Coraes, followed by Bernardakis: καὶ στεφανοῦτο.

 $<sup>^{2&#</sup>x27;}$  As Bernardakis says, either al should (so Reiske) be omitted or (preferably) another al should be inserted before  $\pi \rho \epsilon \sigma \beta \epsilon \hat{a} a$ .

even when he has been crowned for his brilliant success on an embassy, for a notable triumph, or for achievement as a general, in such instances neither those who envy a man nor those who despise him have so much power as before. In this way Aratus arrived at fame, beginning his public life with the destruction of the tyrant Nicocles; so Alcibiades, by making the Mantinean alliance against the Lacedaemonians. Pompey demanded a triumph although he had not vet been admitted to the senate, and when Sulla voted against it, he said, "More worship the rising than the setting sun "; and Sulla, when he heard this, withdrew his opposition. And take the case of Cornelius Scipio; it was not because of any chance beginning that the Roman people suddenly and contrary to law appointed him consul when he was a candidate for the aedileship, but rather because they admired his victorious single combat in Iberia when he was a mere youth, and his deeds a little later at Carthage as military tribunc. about which Cato the Elder exclaimed

He and he only has sense, the rest are mere flickering shadows.  $^{a}$ 

Nowadays, then, when the affairs of the cities no longer include leadership in wars, nor the over-throwing of tyrannies, nor acts of alliances, what opening for a conspicuous and brilliant public career could a young man find? There remain the public lawsuits and embassies to the Emperor, which demand a man of ardent temperament and one who possesses both courage and intellect. But there are many excellent lines of endeavour that are neglected

vol. x o 193

a Homer, Od. xi. 495 (slightly changed).

(805) μένων έν ταις πόλεσι καλών άναλαμβάνοντα και τῶν ἐξ ἔθους φαύλου παραδυομένων ἐπ' αἰσχύνη τινὶ τῆς πόλεως ἢ βλάβη μεθιστάντα πρὸς αὐτὸν έπιστρέφειν. ήδη δέ και δίκη μεγάλη καλώς δικασθείσα καὶ πίστις ἐν συνηγορία πρὸς ἀντίδικον ίσχυρον ύπερ ασθενούς και παρρησία προς ήγεμόνα μοχθηρον ύπερ τοῦ δικαίου κατέστησεν ένίους είς άρχην πολιτείας ένδοξον, οὐκ ὀλίγοι δὲ καὶ δι' έχθρας ηθέήθησαν, επιχειρήσαντες άνθρώποις επίφθονον έχουσιν άξίωμα καὶ φοβερόν εὐθὺς γὰρ ή Ο τοῦ καταλυθέντος ἰσχύς τῷ κρατήσαντι μετά βελτίονος δόξης υπάρχει. τὸ μέν γὰρ ἀνδρί χρηστώ καί δι' άρετὴν πρωτεύοντι προσμάχεσθαι κατά φθόνον, ώς Περικλεί Σιμμίας, 'Αλκμέων' δέ Θεμιστοκλεῖ, Πομπηίω δὲ Κλώδιος, Ἐπαμεινώνδα δε Μενεκλείδης ὁ ρήτωρ, οὔτε πρὸς δόξαν καλὸν ούτ' άλλως συμφέρον όταν γαρ έξαμαρτόντες οί πολλοί πρὸς ἄνδρα χρηστόν, εἶθ' ὁ γίγνεται ταχέως έπ' οργή μετανοήσωσι, πρός τοῦτο την ράστην απολογίαν δικαιοτάτην νομίζουσιν, επιτρίψαι τον άναπείσαντα καὶ καταρξάμενον. τὸ μέντοι φαῦλον ανθρωπον, απονοία δε και δεινότητι πεποιημένον D ύφ' αύτω την πόλιν, οίος ην Κλέων 'Αθήνησι καί Κλεοφών, επαναστάντα καθελείν και ταπεινώσαι λαμπράν ποιείται την πάροδον ώσπερ δράματος της πολιτείας. οὐκ ἀγνοῶ δ' ὅτι καὶ βουλήν τινες έπαχθη και όλιγαρχικήν κολούσαντες, ώσπερ

<sup>1 &#</sup>x27;Αλκμέων Bernardakis: άλκμαίων,

in our cities which a man may take up, and also many practices resulting from evil custom, that have insinuated themselves to the shame or injury of the city, which a man may remove, and thus turn them to account for himself. Indeed in past times a just verdict gained in a great suit, or good faith in acting as advocate for a weak client against a powerful opponent, or boldness of speech in behalf of the right against a wicked ruler, has opened to some men a glorious entrance into public life. And not a few also have grown great through the enemies they have made by attacking men whose position made them enviable or caused them to be feared; for when such a man is overthrown his power passes at once, and with better reputation, to the man who overcame him. For attacking, through motives of envy, a good man who, on account of his virtue, is leader of the state, as Pericles was attacked by Simmias, Themistocles by Alcmeon, Pompey by Claudius, and Epameinondas by Menecleides the orator, is neither conducive to a good reputation nor advantageous in any other way; for when the people have committed a wrong against a good man and then (which happens quickly) repent of their anger, they think the easiest way to excuse themselves for this offence is the most just, namely, to destroy the man who was the author of it and persuaded them to commit it. On the other hand, to revolt against a bad man who by shameless audacity and cunning has made the city subject to himself, such as Cleon and Cleophon were at Athens, and to pull him down and humble him provides a glorious entrance upon the stage of public life. And I am not ignorant of the fact that some men by curtailing the power of an oppressive and

(805) Ἐφιάλτης ᾿Αθήνησι καὶ Φορμίων παρ' Ἡλείοις, δύναμιν ἄμα καὶ δόξαν ἔσχον ἀλλὰ μέγας ἀρχομένω πολιτείας οὖτος ὁ κίνδυνός ἐστι. διὸ καὶ βελτίονα Σόλων ἔλαβεν ἀρχήν, διεστώσης ἐς τρία μέρη τῆς Ε πόλεως, τὸ τῶν Διακρίων λεγομένων καὶ τὸ τῶν

Πεδιέων και τό των Παραλίων ούδενι γαρ εμμίζας έαυτόν, άλλα κοινός ων πασι και πάντα λέγων και πράττων πρός δμόνοιαν ήρέθη νομοθέτης επί τας διαλύσεις και κατέστησεν ούτω τήν άρχήν, ή μεν ούν επιφανεστέρα πάροδος εις τήν πολιτείαν

των ενδόξων, 'Αριστείδης, Φωκίων, Παμμένης ό

τοσαύτας έχει καὶ τοιαύτας ἀρχάς.
11. Τὴν δ' ἀσφαλῆ καὶ σγολαίαν είλοντο πολλοὶ

Θηβαΐος, Λεύκολλος ἐν 'Ρώμη, Κάτων, 'Αγησίλαος ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος· τούτων γὰρ ἔκαστος, ὥσπερ οἱ κιττοὶ τοῖς ἰσχύουσι τῶν δένδρων περιπλεκόμενοι Γσυνεξανίστανται, προσδραμὼν ἀνδρὶ πρεσβυτέρω νέος ἔτι' καὶ ἄδοξος ἐνδόξω, κατὰ μικρὸν αἰρόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς περὶ ἐκεῖνον δυνάμεως καὶ συναυξανόμενος ἤρεισε καὶ κατερρίζωσεν ἐαυτὸν εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν. 'Αριστείδην μὲν γὰρ ηὕξησε Κλεισθένης καὶ Φωκίωνα Χαβρίας, Λεύκολλον' δὲ Σύλλας, Κάτωνα δὲ Μάξιμος, 'Επαμεινώνδας δὲ Παμμένη,' καὶ Λύσανδρος 'Αγησίλαον· ἀλλ' οὖτος μὲν ὑπὸ' ψιλοτιμίας ἀκαίρου καὶ ζηλοτυπίας διὰ δόξαν' ὑβρίσας ἀπἐρριψε ταχὸ τὸν καθηγεμόνα τῶν πράξεων' οἱ δ' ἄλλοι καλῶς καὶ πολιτικῶς καὶ ἄχρι τέλους ἐθερά-

<sup>1</sup> véos ĕтi Benseler: ĕтi véos.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Λεύκολλον] Πομπήμον Kaltwasser: <sup>3</sup> Έπαμεινώνδας δὲ Παμμένη Kaltwasser: ἐπαμεινώνδαν δὲ παμμένη. <sup>4</sup> ὑπὸ added by Meziriacus.

δ διὰ δόξαν Schaefer: δόξαν.

<sup>6</sup> πράξεων Emperius: πρακτέων.

oligarchical senate, as Ephialtes did at Athens and Phormio at Elis, have gained at the same time both power and glory; but to one who is just entering upon public life there is a great risk in this. Therefore Solon made a better beginning, when the State was divided into three factions called the Diacrians ("hillfolk"), the Pedieans ("plainsfolk"), and the Paralians ("coastfolk"); for he entangled himself with none of them, but acted for all in common and said and did everything to bring about concord among them, so that he was chosen lawgiver to reconcile their differences and in this way established his rule. So many, then, and of such kinds are the more conspicuous

ways of entering upon a public career.

11. But the safe and leisurely way has been chosen by many famous men-Aristeides, Phocion, Pammenes the Theban, Lucullus at Rome, Cato, the Lacedaemonian Agesilaüs. For just as ivv rises by twining itself about a strong tree, so each of these men, by attaching himself while still young to an older man and while still obscure to a man of reputation, being gradually raised up under the shelter of his power and growing great with him, fixed himself firmly and rooted himself in the affairs of State. For Aristeides was made great by Cleisthenes, Phocion by Chabrias, Lucullus by Sulla, Cato by Maximus, Epameinondas aided Pammenes, and Lysander Agesilaüs. Agesilaüs through untimely ambition and jealousy of Lysander's reputation insulted and quickly cast aside the guide of his actions; but the others in noble and statesmanlike fashion cherished their teachers until

<sup>&</sup>quot; Cf. Aristotle, Constitution of Athens, chap. v.

806 πευσαν καὶ συνεπεκόσμησαν, ἄσπερ τὰ πρὸς ήλιον ύφιστάμενα σώματα, τὸ λαμπρῦνον αὐτοὺς πάλιν ἀφ' ἐαυτῶν αὕξοντες καὶ συνεκφωτίζοντες. οἱ γοῦν Σκιπίωνι βασκαίνοντες ὑποκριτὴν αὐτὸν ἀπεφαί νοντο τῶν πράξεων ποιητὴν δὲ Λαίλιον τὸν ἐταῖρον, ὁ δὲ Λαίλιος ὑπ' οὐδενὸς ἐπήρθη τούτων ἀλλ' ἀεὶ διετέλεσε τῆ Σκιπίωνος ἀρετῆ καὶ δόξη συμφιλοτι μούμενος. ᾿Αφράνιος δὲ Πομπηίου φίλος, εἰ καὶ πάνυ ταπεινὸς ἡν, ὄμως ἐπίδοξος ῶν ὑπατος αἰρε-

Β θήσεσθαι, Πομπηίου σπουδάζοντος έτέροις, ἀπέστη τής φιλοτιμίας εἰπών οὐκ ἂν οὕτω λαμπρόν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι τὸ τυχεῖν ὑπατείας, ὡς ἀνιαρὸν ἄμα καὶ δυσχερές, εἰ Πομπηίου μὴ θέλοντος μηδὲ συμπράττοντος ἐνιαυτὸν οῦν ἀνασχόμενος μόνον οὐτε τής ἀρχῆς ἀπέτυχε καὶ τὴν φιλίαν διετήρησε. τοῖς δ' οὕτω χειραγωγουμένοις ὑφ' ἐτέρων ἐπὶ δόξαν ἄμα συμβαίνει χαρίζεσθαί τε πολλοῖς, κἄν τι συμβαίνη δύσκολον, ἤττον ἀπεχθάνεσθαι· διὸ καὶ Φίλιππος ᾿Αλεξάνδρω παρήγει κτᾶσθαι φίλους, ἔως ἔξεστι, βασιλεύοντος ἐτέρου πρὸς χαριν ὁμιλοῦντα καὶ διλοφρονούμενον.

12. Αίρεῖσθαι δὲ δεῖ τὸν ἀρχόμενον πολιτείας C ἡγεμόνα μὴ ἀπλῶς τὸν ἔνδοξον καὶ δυνατόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν δι' ἀρετὴν τοιοῦτον. ὡς γὰρ οὐ πᾶν δένδρον ἐθέλει προσίεσθαι καὶ φέρειν περιπλεκομένην τὴν ἄμπελον ἀλλ' ἔνια καταπνίγει καὶ διαφθείρει τὴν αὔξησιν αὐτῆς, οὔτως ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν οἱ μὴ φιλόκαλοι, φιλότιμοι δὲ καὶ φίλαρχοι μόνον, οὐ προῖενται τοῖς νέοις πράξεων ἀφορμάς, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Cf. Life of Pompey, chap. xliv., where another story concerning the friendship of Pompey for Afranius is told. 198

the end and joined in honouring them, enhancing in turn with their own radiance, and illuminating, like the heavenly bodies that face the sun, that which caused themselves to shine. Certainly Scipio's detractors said that he was the actor, but his friend Laelius the real author of his deeds; Laelius, however, was not puffed up by any of those sayings but continued always eagerly to exalt Scipio's virtue and renown. And Pompey's friend Afranius, even though he was of humble station, nevertheless expected to be elected consul, but when Pompey favoured other candidates, he relinquished his ambition, saving that gaining the consulship would be to him not so much glorious as painful and troublesome, if it were against Pompey's will and without his co-operation; and so after waiting only one year he both gained the office and retained the friendship.a Those who are thus led to renown by the hand of others gain favour with many, and at the same time, if anything unpleasant happens, are less disliked; and that is why Philip advised Alexander to gain friends as long as he could while another man was king by having pleasant intercourse with others and maintaining friendly relations with them.

12. But anyone who is entering upon a public career should choose as his leader a man who is not merely of established reputation and powerful, but one who is all this on account of real worth. For just as not every tree will accept and support the grape-vine which entwines itself about it, but some trees stifle and ruin its growth, so in States, the men who are not lovers of what is noble, but merely lovers of honours and of office, do not afford young men opportunities for public activities, but through

(806) τροφην έαυτων την δόξαν ἀφαιρουμένους πιέζουσιν ὑπὸ φθόνου καὶ καταμαραίνουσιν ὡς Μάριος ἐν Λιβύη καὶ πάλιν ἐν Γαλατία πολλὰ διὰ Σύλλα κατορθώσας ἐπαύσατο χρώμενος, ἀχθεσθεὶς μὲν

D αὐτοῦ τῆ αὐξήσει, πρόφασιν δὲ τὴν σφραγίδα ποιησάμενος ἀπέρριψεν· ὁ γὰρ Σύλλας, ὅτε τῷ Μαρίω στρατηγοῦντι συνῆν ταμιεύων ἐν Λιβύη, πεμφθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς Βῶκχον ἤγαγεν Ἰογόρθαν αἰχμάλωτον· οἶα δὲ νέος φιλότιμος, ἄρτι δόξης γεγευμένος, οὐκ ἤνεγκε μετρίως τὸ εὐτύχημα, γλυψάμενος δ' εἰκόνα τῆς πράξεως ἐν σφραγίδι τὸν Ἰογόρθαν αὐτῷ παραδιδόμενον ἐφόρει· καὶ τοῦτ' ἐγκαλῶν ὁ Μάριος ἀπέρριψεν αὐτόν· ὁ δὲ πρὸς Κατουλου¹ καὶ Μέτελλον ἄνδρας ἀγαθούς καὶ Κατομίω διαφόρους μεταστὰς ταχὐ τὸν Μάριον ἐξήλασε καὶ κατέλυσε τῷ ἐμφυλίω πολέμω μικροῦ ἐξήλασε καὶ κατέλυσε τῷ ἐμφυλίω πολέμω μικροῦ

Ε δεήσαντα τὴν 'Ρώμην ἀνατρέψαι. Σύλλας μέντοι καὶ Πομπήιον ἐκ νέου μὲν ἦρεν ὑπεξανιστάμενος αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποκαλυπτόμενος ἐπιόντι, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις νέοις πράξεων ἡγεμονικῶν μεταδιδοὺς ἀφορμάς, ἐνίους δὲ καὶ παροξύνων ἄκοντας, ἐνέπλησε φιλοτιμίας καὶ ζήλου τὰ στρατεύματα καὶ πάντων ἐκράτησε βουλόμενος εἶναι μὴ μόνος ἀλλὰ πρῶτος καὶ μέγιστος ἐν πολλοῖς καὶ μεγάλοις. τούτων οῦν ἔχεσθαι δεῖ τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τούτοις ἐμφύεσθαι, μή, καθάπερ ὁ Αἰσώπου βασιλίσκος F ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων τοῦ ἀετοῦ κομισθεὶς αἰφνίδιον ἐξ-

1 Κάτουλου Bernardakis after the Basle Ms. (Wyttenbach reads Κάτλου): κάτουλλου,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Equivalent here to adjutant.

envy repress them and, to speak figuratively, wither them up by depriving them of glory, their natural So Marius, after having achieved nourishment. many successes in Libva and again in Gaul with the help of Sulla, ceased to employ him and cast him off, heing angered by his growth in power, but using the incident of the seal as a pretext. For Sulla, when Marius was general and he was quaestor a in Libva, was sent by Marius to Bocchus and took Jugurtha prisoner; and being a young man who had just had his first taste of glory, he did not bear his good fortune with moderation, but had a seal engraved with a representation of his deed-Jugurtha surrendering to him—and wore it. Marius threw this up against him and cast him off. And Sulla, transferring his allegiance to Catulus and Metellus, worthy men and opposed to Marius, quickly drove Marius out and broke his power in the civil war after he had almost overthrown Rome. Sulla. however, exalted Pompey from the time of his vouth, rising up and uncovering his head when he came near; and also by giving the other young men opportunities for acts of leadership and even by urging some on against their will, he filled his armies with ambition and cagerness; and he gained power over them all by wishing to be, not the only great man, but first and greatest among many great ones. Such, then, are the men to whom young statesmen should attach themselves and cling closely, not snatching glory away from them, like Aesop's wren who was carried up on the eagle's shoulders, then suddenly flew out and got ahead of him, but

b Cf. Life of Marius, chap. x., and Life of Sulla, chap. iii.

έπτη καὶ προέφθασεν, ούτω τὴν ἐκείνων δόξαν ὑφαρπάζοντας αὐτοὺς ἀλλὰ παρ' ἐκείνων ἄμα μετ' εὐνοίας καὶ φιλίας λαμβάνοντας, ώς οὐδ' ἄρξαι καλώς τους μη πρότερον όρθως δουλεύσαντας, ή φησιν ο Πλάτων, δυναμένους

13. "Επεται δε τούτοις ή περί φίλων κρίσις. μήτε την Θεμιστοκλέους επαινούσα μήτε την Κλέωνος διάνοιαν. δ μέν γὰρ Κλέων, ὅτε πρῶτον έγνω της πολιτείας απτεσθαι, τούς φίλους συνανανών είς ταὐτὸ διελύσατο τὴν φιλίαν πρὸς αὐτούς, ώς πολλά της ορθης και δικαίας προαιρέσεως μαλάσσουσαν έν τῆ πολιτεία καὶ παράνουσαν άμεινον δ' αν εποίησε την φιλοπλουτίαν εκβαλών 807 της ψυχης και την φιλονεικίαν και φθόνου και

κακοηθείας καθήρας αύτόν ου γάρ ἀφίλων αί πόλεις ανδρών και ανεταίρων αλλά χρηστών και σωφούνων δέονται νυνί δε τους μέν φίλους **ἀπ**ήλασεν,

έκατὸν δὲ κύκλω κεφαλαὶ κολάκων οἰμωξομένων¹ ἐλιχμῶντο

περί αὐτόν, ώς οἱ κωμικοὶ λέγουσι· καὶ τραχύς ών πρός τους ἐπιεικεῖς καὶ βαρύς αδθις ὑπέβαλλε τοις πολλοις πρός χάριν ξαυτόν,

γερονταγωγών κάναμισθαρνείν<sup>ε</sup> διδούς,

καὶ τὸ φαυλότατον καὶ τὸ νοσοῦν μάλιστα τοῦ δήμου προσεταιριζόμενος έπὶ τοὺς ἀρίστους. ὁ δέ Θεμιστοκλής πάλιν πρός τον αποφηνάμενον. ώς ἄρξει καλώς ἴσον ἄπασι παρέγων έαυτόν.

<sup>1</sup> οἰμωξομένων Coraes: οἰμωζομένων.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> κάναμισθαρνεῖν Coraes: καὶ ἀναμισθαρνεῖν, cf. Kock, Com Att. Frag. iii. p. 400.

receiving it from them in goodwill and friendship, knowing that no one can ever command well who has not first learned rightly to obey, as Plato says.

13. Next after this comes the decision to be made concerning friends, and here we approve neither the idea of Themistocles nor that of Cleon. For Cleon, when he first decided to take up political life, brought his friends together and renounced his friendship with them as something which often weakens and perverts the right and just choice of policy in political life. But he would have done better if he had cast out from his soul avarice and love of strife and had cleansed himself of envy and malice; for the State needs, not men who have no friends or comrades, but good and self-controlled men. As it was, he drove away his friends,

But a hundred heads of cursed flatterers circling fawned be about him, as the comic poets say; and being rough and harsh to the better classes he in turn subjected himself to the multitude in order to win its favour.

Its old age tending, dosing it with pay,o

and making the basest and most unsound element of the people his associates against the best. But Themistocles on the other hand, when someone said that he would govern well if he showed himself equally impartial to all, replied: "May I never

a Laws. 762 E.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>b</sup> Aristophanes, Peace, 756. The poet refers to Cleon.

Quoted by Plutarch, Life of Nicias, chap. ii. p. 524. A par ody by an unknown comic poet (unless it be by Aristophanes) of a line from the Peleus of Sophocles, Nauck, Trag. Grace. Frag. 447, p. 239. See Kock, Com. Att. Frag. iii. p. 400.

Β " μηδέποτ"," εἶπεν, " εἰς τοιοῦτον ἐγὼ καθίσαιμι (807) θρόνον, ἐν ῷ πλέον οὐχ ἔξουσιν οἱ φίλοι παρ' ἐμοῦ¹ τῶν μὴ φίλων," οὐδ' οῦτος ὀρθῶς τῆ φιλία κατεπογγελλόμενος τὴν πολιτείαν καὶ τὰ κοινὰ ὑφιέμενος. καίτοι πρός γε Σιμωνίδην ἀξιοῦντά τι τῶν μὴ δικαίων " οὕτε ποιητής," ἔφη, " σπουδαῖος ἐστιν ἄδων παρὰ μέλος οὕτ' ἄρχων ἐπιεικής παρὰ τὸν νόμον χαριζόμενος." ὰ ἔρχων ἐπιεικής παρὰ καὶ σχέτλιον, εἰ ναύτας: " ὰ ἐκλέγεται κυβερνήτης καὶ κυβερνήτην ναύκληρος

 Εὖ μὲν ἐνὶ πρύμνη οἰήιον, εὖ δὲ κεραίην εἰδότας ἐντείνασθαι ἐπορνυμένου ἀνέμοιο·

καί τις ἀρχιτέκτων ὑπουργοὺς καὶ χειροτέχνας, οὶ μὴ διαφθεροῦσιν αὐτοῦ τοὕργου ἀλλὶ ἄριστα συνεκπονήσουσιν· ὁ δὲ πολιτικός, ἀριστοτέχνας τις εἴν κατὰ Πίνδαρον καὶ δημιουργὸς εὐνομίας καὶ δίκης, οὐκ εὐθὺς αἰρήσεται φίλους ὁμοιοπαθεῖς καὶ ὑπηρέτας καὶ συνενθουσιώντας αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ καλόν, ἀλλὶ ἄλλους πρὸς ἄλλην ἀεὶ χρείαν τὸ καμποντας αὐτὸν ἀδικως καὶ βιαίως οὐδέν τ' ὀφθήσεται διαφέρων οἰκοδόμου τινὸς ἢ τέκτονος ἀπειρία καὶ πλημμελεία γωνίαις χρωμένου καὶ κανόσι καὶ στάθμαις, ὑψ ὧν διαστρέφεσθαι τοῦργον ἔμελλεν ὁργανα γὰρ οἱ φίλοι ζῶντα καὶ φρονοῦντα τῶν πολιτικών ἀνδρῶν εἰσι, καὶ οὐ δεῦ συνολισθάνειν αὐτοῖς παραβαίνουσιν, ἀλλὰ προσ-

<sup>1</sup> παρ' έμοῦ Anton Melissa: παρ' έμοὶ.
2 ἀλλ' ἄλλους Wyttenbach: ἄλλου ἄλλου.

αλλους Wyttenbach: αλλου αλλου.

κάμπτοντας Wyttenbach: κάμπτοντος.

take my seat on such a throne that my friends shall not have more from me than those who are not my friends!" He also was wrong; for he put the government under pledge to his friendship, subordinating the affairs of the community and the public to private favours and interests. And yet when Simonides asked for something that was not just, he said to him: "Neither is he a good poet who sings contrary to metre, nor is he an equitable ruler who grants favours contrary to law." For truly it is an outrageous and abominable thing if a pilot selects sailors and a ship-captain selects a pilot

Well knowing how at the stern to hold steady the tiller and also

How to stretch taut the yard ropes when rises the onrushing tempest, a

and an architect chooses subordinates and handicraftsmen who will not spoil his work but will cooperate to perfect it, whereas the statesman, who is, as Pindar says, the best of craftsmen and the maker of lawfulness and justice, does not immediately choose friends whose convictions are like his own, who will aid him and share his enthusiasm for what is noble, but rather those who are always wrongfully and by violent means trying to divert him to various other uses. Such a statesman will be found to be no better than a builder or a carpenter who through ignorance and error makes use of such squares and rulers and levels as are sure to make his work crooked. For friends are the living and thinking tools of the statesman, and he ought not to slip with them when they go wrong, but he must be on the watch that

Cf. Callimachus, Frag. 382, p. 787, ed. Schneider.
 Pindar, Frag. 57, p. 403 Schroeder.

#### DITTARCIES MORALIA

έγειν όπως μηδ' άγνοούντων αὐτῶν ἐξαμαρτάνωσι. τοῦτο νὰρ καὶ Σόλωνα κατήσχυνε καὶ διέβαλε πρός τούς πολίτας έπει ναρ έν νω λαβών τά Ε δάλήματα κουφίσαι και την σεισάχθειαν (τοῦτο δ' ήν ύποκόρισμα χρεών ἀποκοπής) εἰσενεγκεῖν ἐκοινώσατο τοῖς φίλοις οἱ δ' ἔργον ἀδικώτατον έπραξαν έδανείσαντο γάρ ύποφθάσαντες άργύριον πολή και μετ' όλίνον γρόνον είς φως του νόμου προαγθέντος οι μεν εφάνησαν οίκιας τε λαμπράς καὶ γην συνεωνημένοι πολλην έξ ων έδανείσαντο χρημάτων, ο δε Σόλων αἰτίαν ἔσχε συναδικεῖν ἡδικημένος. ᾿Αγησίλαος δε περὶ τὰς τῶν φίλων σπουδάς αὐτός αύτοῦ γιγνόμενος ἀσθενέστατος καὶ ταπεινότατος ώσπερ ὁ Εὐριπίδου Πήνασος

έπτηξ' ύπείκων μαλλον εί μαλλον θέλοι.

καί ταις άτυχίαις προθυμότερον βοηθών του δέοντος Ε έδόκει συνεξομοιούσθαι ταις άδικίαις και γάρ τοι Φοιβίδαν κρινόμενον έσωσεν έπὶ τῷ τὴν Καδμείαν καταλαβεῖν ἄνευ προστάγματος, φήσας τὰ τοιαῦτα δείν αὐτοματίζειν καὶ Σφοδρίαν ἐπ' ἔργω παρανόμω καὶ δεινῶ φεύγοντα δίκην (ἐνέβαλε γὰρ εἰς τὴν 'Αττικήν φίλων όντων καὶ συμμάχων) άφεθήναι διεπράξατο, δεήσεσιν έρωτικαις του παιδός μαλαχθείς και πρός τινα δυνάστην επιστόλιον αὐτοῦ 808 τοιοῦτον φέρεται "Νικίαν, εἰ μὲν οὐκ ἀδικεῖ, ἄφες.

εὶ δ' ἀδικεῖ, ἐμοὶ ἄφες πάντως δ' ἄφες."

The cancellation of debts was one of the chief features of Solon's reorganization of the government of Athens in the sixth century B.C. The popular term means "shaking off burdens," This incident is discussed by Aristotle, Constitution of Athens, chap. vi., where Solon's innocence of wrongdoing is maintained.

they do not err even through ignorance. In fact, it was this that disgraced Solon and brought him into disrepute among the citizens: for when he made up his mind to lighten debts and to introduce the Seisachtheia a (that was the nickname for the cancellation of debts), he told his friends about it, and they did a very wrong thing; they secretly borrowed a great deal of money before the law was published, and a little later, after its publication. they were found to have bought splendid houses and much land with the money they had borrowed. and Solon, who was wronged, was accused of sharing in their wrongdoing. Agesilaüs, too, showed himself very weak and poor-spirited in dealing with his friends' solicitations and, like Pegasus in Euripides' drama.

Crouched down and yielded more if more he wished,

.... them when in

them in wrongdoing; for example, when Phoebidas was on trial for seizing the Cadmeia without orders, he got him off by saying that such things were bound to happen of their own accord; and when Sphodrias was being tried for an illegal and frightful act (for he had invaded Attica when the Athenians were friends and allies), he brought about his acquittal, being softened by the amorous pleadings of his son. And a note of his to a certain ruler is quoted as follows: "If Nicias is imnocent, let him go; if he is guilty, let him go for my sake; anyway, let him go." o But Phocion did

º Cf. Moralia, 209 F.

b Euripides, Bellerophon, Frag. 309, p. 451 Nauck. Quoted in part, Moralia 529 E.

(808) Φωκίων οὐδὲ τῷ γαμβρῷ Χαρίκλῳ¹ δίκην ἔχοντι περί τῶν 'Αρπαλείων συνεισηλθεν, άλλ' "έγώ σε," φήσας, " έπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς δικαίοις ἐποιησάμην κηδεστήν," ἄχετ' ἀπιών. καὶ Τιμολέων ὁ Κορίνθιος τον άδελφον έπει διδάσκων και δεόμενος οὐκ άπέστησε τῆς τυραννίδος, συνέπραξε τοῖς ἀνελοῦσι. δεί γάρ οὐκ ἄχρι τοῦ βωμοῦ φίλον είναι τῷ μὴ Β συνεπιορκείν, " ως ποτε Περικλής είπεν, άλλ' άγρι παντός νόμου καὶ δικαίου καὶ συμφέροντος, δ παροφθέν είς τινα μεγάλην βλάβην αναφέρει καί κοινήν, ώς ανέφερε<sup>8</sup> το μη δοῦναι δίκην Σφοδρίαν μηδέ Φοιβίδαν ούτοι γάρ ούχ ήκιστα την Σπάρτην ενέβαλον είς τον Λευκτρικόν πόλεμον. έπεὶ τοῖς γε μετρίοις άμαρτήμασι των φίλων ἐπεμβαίνειν βαρύν ό πολιτικός οὐκ ἀναγκάζει λόγος, ἀλλὰ καὶ δίδωσιν είς ἀσφαλές θεμένους τὰ μέγιστα τῶν κοινῶν ἐκ περιουσίας βοηθείν τοίς φίλοις και παρίστασθαι και συνεκπονείν ύπερ αὐτών. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ χάριτες άνεπίφθονοι, συλλαβέσθαι πρός άρχὴν τῷ φίλω μᾶλλον, έγχειρίσαι τινά διοίκησιν ένδοξον ή πρεσβείαν C φιλάνθρωπον, οΐον ήγεμόνος τιμάς έχουσαν, ή πρός πόλιν ύπερ φιλίας και όμονοίας έντευξιν αν δ' ή τις έργώδης έπιφανής δε καί μεγάλη πράξις, αύτον έπὶ ταύτην τάξαντα πρώτον είτα προσελέσθαι τὸν φίλον, ώς δ Διομήδης

3 ανέφερε Reiske: ανεφέρετο.

<sup>1</sup> Χαρίκλω Dübner: χαρίλλω; cf. Life of Phocion, chap.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Van Herwerden, Mnemosyne, xxxvii. p. 211, suggests that τῷ μὴ συνεπιορκεῖν is an interpolation.

not even appear in support of his son-in-law Charicles when he was accused in connexion with the Harpalus affair; he merely said: "I made you my son-in-law for nothing but what is right" and went away. And Timoleon of Corinth, when he was unable either by instruction or by entreaty to make his brother give up his tyranny, joined """. For a statesman ought, arry to perjury, not to b

as Pericles once said, but only so far as conforms to any law, equity, or advantage the neglect of which leads to great public injury, as did the failure to punish Sphodrias and Phoebidas, for they did a great deal to make Sparta enter into the Leuctrian war. For the principles that govern a statesman's conduct do not force him to act with severity against the moderate errors of his friends; on the contrary, they make it possible for him, after he has once made the chief public interests safe, out of his abundant resources to assist his friends, take his stand beside them, and help them out of their troubles. And there are also favours which arouse no ill-will, such as aiding a friend to gain an office, putting into his hands some honourable administrative function or some friendly foreign mission, for example one which includes honours to a ruler or negotiations with a State concerning friendship and concord; and if some public activity be laborious, but conspicuous and important, the statesman can first appoint himself to the post and then choose his friend as assistant, just as Diomedes did:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Cf. Life of Timoleon, chaps. iv., v., pp. 237, 238.

b A proverbial expression (Latin usque ad aras) equivalent to our "to the bitter end"; cf. Moralia, 531 p.

(808) εἰ μὲν δὴ ἔταρόν γε κελεύετέ μ' αὐτὸν έλέσθαι, πῶς ἂν ἔπειτ' 'Οδυσῆος ἐγὼ θείοιο λαθοίμην;

κάκεῖνος αὖ πάλιν ἀνταποδίδωσιν οἰκείως τὸἰς ἔπαινον

ἵπποι δ' οἴδε, γεραιέ, νεήλυδες, οΰς ἐρεείνεις, Θρηίκιοι, τὸν δέ σφιν ἄνακτ' ἀγαθὸς Διομήδης ἔκτανε, πὰρ δ' ἐτάρους δυοκαίδεκα πάντας ἀρίστους.

αύτη γὰρ ή πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ὕφεσις οὐν ήττου Τι έπικοσιιεί των έπαινουμένων τους έπαινούντας ή δ' αὐθάδεια, φησὶν ὁ Πλάτων, ἐρημία σύνοικος, ἔτι τοίνυν ταις καλαις και φιλανθρώποις χάρισι δεί τούς φίλους συνεισποιείν και κελεύειν τούς εθ παθόντας εκείνους επαινείν και άγαπαν, ώς αιτίους άμα καὶ συμβούλους γεγενημένους· τὰς δὲ φαύλας καὶ ἀτόπους ἀξιώσεις ἀποτρίβεσθαι μὴ πικρῶς ἀλλὰ πράως, διδάσκοντα καὶ παραμυθούμενον ώς οὐκ Ε άξιαι της έκείνων άρετης είσι και δόξης. άριστα δ' άνθρώπων ό Έπαμεινώνδας, άρνησάμενος δεηθέντι τῶ Πελοπίδα τὸν κάπηλον ἐκ τῆς εἰρκτῆς άφειναι και μετ' όλίγον της έρωμένης δεηθείσης άφείς, " τοιαύτας," έφη, " χάριτας, & Πελοπίδα, λαμβάνειν έταιριδίοις οὐ στρατηγοῖς πρέπον ἐστίν." ό δε Κάτων βαρέως καὶ αὐθάδως, ἐπεὶ Κάτλος ὁ τιμητής, φίλος ών έν τοῖς μάλιστα καὶ συνήθης, έξητειτό τινα των κρινομένων ύπ' αὐτοῦ ταμιεύοντος "αἰσχρόν ἐστιν," ἔφη, "σὲ τὸν ὀφείλοντα τους νέους ήμας σωφρονίζειν ύπο των ήμετέρων ύπηρετών εκβάλλεσθαι." τω γάρ έργω την χάριν 210

So if you tell me myself to choose another as comrade, How in that case could I e'er be forgetful of godlike Odysseus? <sup>a</sup>

And Odysseus again fittingly returns the compliment:

Now these horses, old sir, these new ones, of which thou inquirest,

Thracian they are, but their master was slain by the brave Diomedes,

Slain and beside him his comrades, twelve comrades and all of the noblest.<sup>b</sup>

For such concession to one's friends adorns those who give praise no less than those who receive it: but self-conceit, says Plato, dwells with loneliness. Then, besides, a man ought to ascribe to his friends a share in his own good and kindly acts of favour; he should tell those who have been benefited to praise and show them affection as the originators and advisers of the favours. But base and absurd requests he should reject, not harshly but gently, informing the askers by way of consolation that the requests are not in accord with their own excellence and reputation. Epameinondas exemplifies this most admirably: after refusing to let the pedlar out of prison at Pelopidas's request and then letting him out a little later when his mistress asked it, he said, " Favours of that sort, Pelopidas, are fit for courtesans to receive, but not for generals." But Cato acted harshly and arbitrarily when he was quaestor, and Catulus the censor, one of his most intimate friends, asked for the acquittal of a man who was being tried, by saying: "It is a disgrace that you, whose duty it is to train us young men to honourable conduct, have to be thrown out by our servants." For he might, while refusing the

Homer, Il. x. 242.
 Plato, Letters, iv. 321 s.

Ε έξην απειπάμενον αφελείν τοῦ λόγου την τραγύτητα και πικρίαν, ώς μηδε τη πράξει το λυπηρον έκουσίως άλλ' ἀναγκαίως ἐπιφέροντα διὰ τὸν νόμον καὶ τό δίκαιον. είσι δὲ καὶ πρός χρηματισμόν οὐκ ἀγεννεῖς ἐν πολιτεία τοῖς δεομένοις τῶν φίλων αἰ συλλήψεις οίον ο Θεμιστοκλής, μετά την μάχην ίδων νεκρούν στρεπτά γρυσα και μανιάκην περικείμενον αὐτὸς μὲν παρῆλθεν, ἐπιστραφείς δὲ πρὸς τὸν φίλον "ἀνελοῦ ταῦτ' εἶπεν, "οὐ γὰρ καὶ 809 σύ Θεμιστοκλής γέγονας." δίδωσι γάρ καὶ τοῦτο πολλάκις τῷ πολιτικῷ τὰ πράγματα πρὸς τοὺς φίλους, οὐ γὰρ δὴ Μενέμαχοι πάντες εἰσί τῶ μὲν έννείρισον συνηγορίαν έμμισθον ύπερ τοῦ δικαίου. τῷ δὲ σύστησον πλούσιον ἐπιμελείας καὶ προ-στασίας δεόμενον ἄλλῳ δ' εἰς ἐργολαβίαν τινὰ σύμπραξον η μίσθωσιν ώφελείας έγουσαν. Έπαμεινώνδας δε καὶ πλουσίω τινὶ προσελθόντα φίλον αίτειν εκέλευσε τάλαντον, ώς αύτου δούναι κελεύσαντος έπει δ' ο αιτηθείς έλθων έπυνθάνετο την

έστί, συ δε πλουτεις πολλά τῆς πόλεως νενοσφι-Β σμένος.'' καὶ τὸν 'Αγησίλαον ὁ Ξενοφῶν ἀγάλλεσθαί φησι πλουτίζοντα τοὺς φίλους, αὐτὸν ὅντα

αίτίαν, " ὅτι χρηστός," είπεν, " οὖτος ὢν πένης

κρείττονα χρημάτων.

14. Έπε δε "πάσαις κορυδαλλίσι" κατά Σιμωνίδην "χρη λόφον έγγενέσθαι" καὶ πάσα πολιτεία φέρει τινὰς ἔχθρας καὶ διαφοράς, οὐχ ηκιστα προσήκει καὶ περὶ τούτων ἐσκέφθαι τὸν πολιτικόν. οἱ μὲν οὖν πολλοὶ τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα καὶ τὸν 'Αριστείδην ἐπαινοῦσιν ἐπὶ τῶν ὄρων

The friend to whom this essay is addressed.

b Xenophon, Ages. 4.

favour in fact, have avoided harshness and bitterness of speech, by producing the impression that the offensive quality of his action was not due to his own will, but was forced upon him by law and justice. There are also in public life ways which are not dishonourable of helping friends who need money to acquire it; as, for example, when after the battle Themistocles saw a corpse wearing a golden bracelet and necklace, he himself passed it by, but turned to his friend and said, "Take these things, for you are not, as I am, Themistocles." For the administration of affairs frequently gives the man in public life this sort of chance to help his friends; for not every man is a Menemachus." Hand over to one friend a case at law which will bring in a good fee as advocate in a just cause, to another introduce a rich man who needs legal oversight and protection, and help another to get some profitable contract or lease. Epameinondas even told a friend to go to a certain rich man and ask for a talent, saying that it was he who bade him give it; and when the man who had been asked for it came and asked him the reason, he replied: "Because this man is a good man and poor, but you are rich since you have appropriated much of the State's wealth." Xenophon<sup>b</sup> says that Agesilaüs delighted in enriching his friends, he being himself above money.

14. But since, to quote Simonides, o " all larks must grow a crest," and every public career bears its crop of emitties and disagreements, the public man must give especial consideration to these matters. So most people commend Themistocles and Aristeides who, whenever they went on an embassy or in com-

Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Graec. iii, p. 418, no. 68.

(809) την έχθραν αποτιθεμένους, δσάκις επί πρεσβείαν η στρατηγίαν εξίοιεν, είτα πάλιν αναλαμβάνοντας. ένίοις δέ καὶ τὸ Κρητίνου τοῦ Μάγνητος ὑπερφυῶς C αρέσκει Έρμεία γαρ αντιπολιτευόμενος ανδρί ου δυνατώ μεν φιλοτίμω δε και λαμπρώ την ψυχήν. έπει κατέσγεν ο Μιθριδατικός πόλεμος, την πόλιν δρών κινδυνεύουσαν εκέλευσε τον Ερμείαν την άρχην παραλαβόντα χρησθαι τοῖς πράγμασιν, αὐτοῦ μεταστάντος εί δε βούλεται στρατηγείν εκείνον. αὐτὸν ἐκποδών ἀπελθεῖν, ώς μὴ φιλοτιμούμενοι πρός άλλήλους απολέσειαν την πόλιν. ήρεσεν ή πρόκλησις τῷ Ερμεία, καὶ φήσας έαυτοῦ πολεμικώτερον είναι τον Κρητίναν ύπεξηλθε μετά παίδων και γυναικός. δ δε Κρητίνας εκεινόν τε προύπεμψε, των ίδίων χρημάτων επιδούς όσα D φεύγουσιν ήν ή πολιορκουμένοις χρησιμώτερα, καὶ την πόλιν άριστα στρατηγήσας παρ' οὐδέν έλθούσαν ἀπολέσθαι περιεποίησεν ἀνελπίστως. εί γάρ εὐγενὲς καὶ φρονήματος μεγάλου τὸ ἀναφωνῆσαι

φιλῶ τέκν, ἀλλὰ πατρίδ' ἐμὴν μᾶλλον φιλῶ,

πῶς οὖκ ἐκείνοις γε προχειρότερον εἰπεῖν ἑκάστως "μισῶ τὸν δεῖνα καὶ βούλομαι ποιῆσαι κακῶς, ἀλλὰ πατρίδ' ἐμὴν μᾶλλον φιλῶ "; τὸ γὰρ μὴ ἐέλειν διαλυθῆναι πρὸς ἐχθρόν, ὧν ἔνεκα δεῖ καὶ φίλον προέσθαι, δεινῶς ἄγριον καὶ θηριῶδες. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ βέλτιον οἱ περὶ Φωκίωνα καὶ Κάτωνα, μηδ' ὅλως ἔχθραν τινὰ πρὸς πολιτικὰς τιθέμενοι

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> μἐν added by Benseler, but placed by him after ἀνδρὶ.
<sup>2</sup> καὶ added by Coraes.

a Nauck, Trag. Graec. Frag. p. 918, no. 411. Probably 214

mand of an army, laid down their private enmity at the frontier, then took it up again later. And some people also are immensely pleased by the conduct of Cretinas of Magnesia. He was a political opponent of Hermeias, a man who was not powerful but was of ambitious spirit and brilliant mind, and when the Mithridatic war broke out, seeing that the State was in danger, he told Hermeias to take over the command and manage affairs, while he himself withdrew; or, if Hermeias wished him to be general, then Hermeias should remove himself, that they might not by ambitious strife with one another destroy the State. The challenge pleased Hermeias, and saving that Cretinas was more versed in war than himself. he went away with his wife and children. as escorted him, first giving him

such things as were more useful to exiles than to people besieged in a city, after which by his excellent military leadership he saved the State unexpectedly when it was on the brink of destruction. For if it is a noble thing and the mark of an exalted spirit to exclaim

I love my children, but I love my country more, would it not have been easier for each of them to say, "I hate so-and-so and wish to do him harm, but I love my country more"? For to be unwilling to make peace with a personal enemy for the sake of those things for which we ought even to give up a friend is shockingly uncivilized and as low as the beasts. Certainly Phocion and Cato and their like acted much better, for they would allow no personal enmity to have any bearing whatsoever upon political from the Erechtheus of Euripides and spoken by Praxithea, wife of Erechtheus.

Ε διαφοράς, άλλα δεινοί καὶ ἀπαραίτητοι μόνον ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις ἀγῶσιν ὄντες μὴ προέσθαι τὸ συμφέρον, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἱδίοις ἀμηνίτως καὶ φιλανθρώπως χρώμενοι τοῖς ἐκεῖ διαφερομένοις. δεῖ γὰρ ἐχθρὸν μηδένα πολίτην νομίζειν, ἄν μή τις, οῖος ᾿Αριστίων ἢ Νάβις ἢ Κατιλίνας, νόσημα καὶ ἀπόστημα πόλεως ἐγγένηται τοὺς δ᾽ ἄλλως ἀπάδοντας ὤσπερ ἀρμονικὸν ἐπιτείνοντα καὶ χαλῶντα πράως εἰς τὸ ἐμμελὲς ἄγειν, μὴ τοῖς ἀμαρτάνουσι σὺν ὀργῆ καὶ πρὸς ὕβριν ἐπιφυόμενον, ἀλλὶ ὡς Ὅμηρος ἡθικώτερον

F ὧ πέπον, ἢ τ' ἐφάμην σε περὶ φρένας ἔμμεναι ἄλλων

καὶ

οΐσθα καὶ ἄλλον μῦθον ἀμείνονα τοῦδε νοῆσαι.

ἄν τέ τι χρηστὸν εἴπωσιν ἢ πράξωσι, μὴ τιμαῖς ἀχθόμενον αὐτῶν μηδὲ λόγων εὐφήμων ἐπὶ καλοῖς ἔργοις¹ φειδόμενον· οὕτω γὰρ ὅ τε ψόγος ὅπου δεῖ πίστιν ἔξει, καὶ πρὸς τὴν κακίαν διαβαλοῦμεν αὐτοὺς αὕξοντες τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ ταῦτα παραβάλλοντες ἐκείνοις ὡς ἄξια καὶ πρέποντα μῶλλον.

810 έγὼ δὲ καὶ μαρτυρεῖν ἄξιῶ τὰ δίκαια καὶ τοῖς διαφόροις τὸν πολιτικὸν ἄνδρα καὶ βοηθεῖν κρινομένοις πρὸς τοὺς συκοφάντας καὶ ταῖς διαβολαῖς ἀπιστεῖν, ἄν ὧαιν ἀλλότριαι τῆς προαιρέσεως αὐτῶν ὤσπερ ὁ Νέρων ἐκεῖνος ὀλίγον ἔμπροσθεν ἢ κτεῖναι τὸν Θρασέαν μάλιστα μισῶν καὶ φοβού-

<sup>1</sup> καλοῖς ἔργοις Reiske: καλοῖς.

<sup>&</sup>quot; Homer, Il. xvii. 171.

Homer, 11. vii. 358.

differences, but were stern and inexorable only in public contests against sacrificing what was for the common good; yet in private matters they treated kindly and without anger their political opponents. For the statesman should not regard any fellow-citizen as an enemy, unless some man, such as Aristion, Nabis, or Catilline, should appear who is a pest and a running sore to the State. Those who are in other ways out of harmony he should, like a skilful musician, bring into unison by gently tightening or relaxing the strings of his control, not attacking angrily and insultingly those who err, but making an appeal designed rather to make a moral impression, as Homer does:

Truly, my friend, I did think you surpassed other men in your wisdom <sup>a</sup>;
and

Knowledge thou hast to devise other speech that is better than this was.<sup>b</sup>

But if they say or do anything good, he should not be vexed by their honours, nor should he be sparing of complimentary words for their good actions; for if we act in this way our blame, where it is needed, will be thought justified, and we shall make them dislike evil by exalting virtue and showing through comparison that good actions are more worthy and fitting than the other kind. And I think also that the statesman should give testimony in just causes even for his opponents, should aid them in court against the blackmailers, and should discredit calumnies about them if such accusations are alien to the principles they profess; just as the infamous Nero, a little before he put Thraseas to death, whom he hated and feared intensely, nevertheless

(810) μενος, ὅμως ἐγκαλοῦντός τινος ὡς κακῶς κεκριμένου καὶ ἀδίκως, ΄΄ ἐβουλόμην ἄν, ΄΄ ἔφη, ΄΄ Θρασέαν οὕτως ἐμὲ φιλεῖν, ὡς δικαστὴς ἄριστός ἐστιν.'΄

Οὐ χέδρον δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἐπίπληξιν ἐτέρων φύσει πονηρῶν και μαλλον άμαρτανόντων ἐγθροῦ μνησθέντα κομψοτέρου τὸ ἢθος εἰπεῖν '' ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος Βοὐκ ἄν τοῦτ εἶπεν οὐδ' ἐποίησεν.'' ὑπομνηστέον δὲ καὶ πατέρων ἀγαθῶν ἐνίους, ὅταν ἐξαμαρτάνωσιν οῖον ''Ομπρος

ή όλίγον οἱ παΐδα ἐοικότα γείνατο Τυδεύς·

καὶ πρὸς Σκιπίωνα τὸν 'Αφρικανὸν ''Αππιος ἐν ἀρχαιρεσίαις διαγωνιζόμενος '' ἡλίκου ἄν,'' εἶπεν, '' ὧ Παῦλε, στενάξειας ὑπὸ γῆς, αἰσθόμενος ὅτι σου τὸν υἰὸν ἐπὶ τιμητικὴν ἀρχὴν καπαβαίνοντα Φιλόνικος ὁ τελώνης δορυφορεῖ.'' τὰ γὰρ τοιαῦτα νουθετεῖ τοὺς ἁμαρτάνοντας ἄμα καὶ κοσμεῖ τοὺς νουθετοῦντας, πολιτικῶς δὲ καὶ ὁ Νέστωρ ὁ τοῦ Σοφοκλέους ἀποκρίνεται λοιδορούμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ Λίαντος

C οὐ μέμφομαί σε· δρῶν γὰρ εὖ κακῶς λέγεις.

καὶ Κάτων διενεχθεὶς πρὸς τὸν Πομπήιον ἐν οις ἐβιάζετο τὴν πόλιν μετὰ Καίσαρος, ἐπιὶ κατέστησαν εἰς πόλεμον, ἐκέλευσε Πομπηίω παραδοῦναι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, ἐπειπὰν ὅτι τῶν αὐτῶν ἑστι
καὶ ποιεῖν τὰ μεγάλα κακὰ καὶ παύειν. ὁ γὰρ
μεμιγμένος ἐπαίτω ψόγος οὐκ ἔχων ΰβριν ἀλλὰ

καὶ added by H.N.F.
 οἶον added by Bernardakis.
 Φιλόνικος Reiske: φιλόνεικος.

when someone accused him of a bad and unjust decision in court, said: "I wish Thraseas were as good a friend to me as he is a most excellent judge."

And it is not a bad method for confounding persons of a different kind, men who are naturally vicious and prone to evil conduct, to mention to them some enemy of theirs who is of finer character and to say: "He would not have said that or done that." And some men, too, when they do wrong, should be reminded of their excellent fathers, as Homer says:

Truly not much like his sire is the son who was gotten by Tvdeus \*:

And Appius, when competing with Scipio Africanus b in the elections, said: "O Paulus, how you would groan in the lower world if you saw that when your son was standing for the censorship Philonicus the publican acted as his bodyguard!" Such sayings serve at once to rebuke wrongdoers and to add lustre to those who administer the rebuke. And the Nestor of Sophocles, too, made a statesmanlike reply when reviled by Ajax:

I blame thee not; for good thy acts, though ill thy speech.

And Cato, although he had opposed Pompey in the violent measures which he and Caesar applied to the State, when war broke out between them advised handing over the leadership to Pompey, saying: "The men who can bring about great evils can also end them." For blame which is mingled with praise and contains nothing insulting but merely frankness

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Homer, Il. v. 800, referring to Diomedes.

Scipio Africanus the younger (185-129 B.C.) was the son of Lucius Aemilius Paulus.

Nauck, Trag. Graec. Frag. p. 312, no. 771.

(810) παρρησίαν, οὐδὲ θυμόν άλλὰ δηγμόν ἐμποιῶν καὶ μετάνοιαν, εὐμενής φαίνεται καὶ θεραπευτικός αί δε λοιδορίαι τοις πολιτικοίς ήκιστα πρέπουσιν. όρα δὲ τὰ πρὸς Αἰσχίνην ὑπὸ Δημοσθένους είρημένα καὶ τὰ πρὸς τοῦτον ὑπ' Αἰσχίνου, καὶ πάλιν ά πρός Δημάδην γέγραφεν Υπερείδης, εί Σόλων D αν είπεν η Περικλής η Λυκούργος ο Λακεδαιμόνιος η Πιττακός ὁ Λέσβιος. καίτοι γε καὶ Δημοσθένης έν τῶ δικανικῶ τὸ λοίδορον ἔχει μόνον, οἱ δὲ Φιλιππικοί καθαρεύουσι καὶ σκώμματος καὶ βωμολογίας άπάσης τὰ γὰρ τοιαθτα τῶν ἀκουόντων μᾶλλον αίσχύνει τους λέγοντας, έτι δέι και σύγχυσιν άπεργάζεται τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ διαταράττει τὰ βουλευτήρια και τας εκκλησίας. οθεν άρισθ' δ Φωκίων ύπεκστας τω λοιδορούντι και παυσάμενος τοῦ λέγειν, ἐπεὶ μόλις ἐσιώπησεν ὁ ἄνθρωπος, αδθις παρελθών " οὐκοῦν," ἔφη, " περὶ μὲν τῶν ἵππέων και των όπλιτων άκηκόατε, λείπεται δέ μοι περί Ε των ψιλών και πελταστών διελθείν." άλλ' έπει πολλοίς γε δυσκάθεκτόν έστι το πράγμα πολλάκις οὐκ ἀχρήστως οἱ λοιδοροῦντες ἐπιστομίζονται ταις απαντήσεσιν, έστω βραχεία τη λέξει καί μή θυμον εμφαίνουσα μηδ' άκραχολίαν, άλλά πραότητα μετά παιδιάς και χάριτος άμωσγέπως δάκνουσαν αί δ' άντεπιστρέφουσαι μάλιστα τοιαθται. καθάπερ γὰρ τῶν βελῶν ὅσα πρὸς τὸν βαλόντα φέρεται πάλιν ρώμη τινὶ δοκεῖ καὶ στερεό-F τητι τοῦ πληγέντος ἀνακρουόμενα τοῦτο πάσγειν·

<sup>1</sup> ἔτι δὲ Wyttenbach : ἔτι (ὅτι Coraes).

of speech, and arouses not anger but a pricking of the conscience and repentance, appears both kindly and healing; but abusive speech is not at all fitting for statesmen. Observe the things that were said by Demosthenes against Aeschines and by Aeschines against him and again those viil I wrote against Demades, and ask or a Pericles or Lycurgus the Lacedaemonian or Pittacus the Lesbian would have said them. And vet even Demosthenes employs abuse only in his speeches before a court of law : the Philippics are free from all jeering and scurrility. For such things bring disgrace upon the speakers rather than upon those spoken of, and moreover they bring confusion into the conduct of affairs and they disturb councils and assemblies. Therefore Phocion did well when he stopped speaking and yielded the floor to a man who was reviling him, and then, when the fellow had at last become silent, came forward again saying : "Well, then, about the cavalry and the heavy infantry you have heard already; it remains for me to discuss the light infantry and the targeteers." But since many men find it hard to endure that sort of thing quietly, and abusive speakers are often, and not without general benefit, made to shut their mouths by the retorts they evoke, let the reply be brief in wording, showing no temper and no extreme rancour, but urbanity mingled with playfulness and grace which somehow or other has a sting Retorts which turn his own words back upon the speaker are especially good in this way. For just as things which are thrown and return to the thrower seem to do this because they are driven back by some force and firmness of that against

ούτω τὸ λεχθὲν ύπὸ ρώμης καὶ συνέσεως τοῦ λοιδορηθέντος ἐπὶ τοὺς λοιδορήσαντας ἀναστρέφειν ἔοικεν· ώς τὸ Ἐπαμεινώνδου πρὸς Καλλίστρατον, ονειδίζοντα Θηβαίοις καὶ 'Αργείοις την Οἰδίποδος πατροκτονίαν καὶ τὴν 'Ορέστου μητροκτονίαν, ότι "τούς ταθτα ποιήσαντας ήμων ἐκβαλόντων ύμεις εδέξασθε " και το 'Ανταλκίδου του Σπαρτιάτου πρός τον 'Αθηναίον τον φήσαντα " πολλάκις ύμας ἀπό τοῦ Κηφισοῦ ἐδιώξαμεν," " ἀλλ' ἡμεις 811 γ' ύμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ Εὐρώτα οὐδέποτε.' χαριέντως δε και ο Φωκίων, τοῦ Δημάδου κεκραγότος " 'Αθηναῖοί σε ἀποκτενοῦσιν" " ἄν γε μανῶσιν," ἔφη, " σὲ δέ, ἂν σωφρονῶσι." καὶ Κράσσος δ ρήτωρ, Δομιτίου πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰπόντος "οὐ σὺ μυραίνης ἐν κολυμβήθρα σοι τρεφομένης εἶτ' ἀποθανούσης ἔκλαυσας; '' ἀντηρώτησεν '΄ οὐ σὺ τρείς γυναίκας έθαψας καὶ οὐκ εδάκρυσας:" ταθτα μέν οθν έχει τινά χρείαν καὶ πρός τὸν ἄλλον βίον.

15. Πολιτείας δ' οἱ μὲν εἰς ἄπαν ἐνδύονται μέρος, ἄσπερ ὁ Κάτων, οὐδεμιᾶς ἀξιοῦντες εἰς Β δύναμιν ἀπολείπεσθαι φροντίδος οὐδ' ἐπιμελείας τὸν ἀγαθὸν πολίτην καὶ τὸν Ἐπαμεινώνδαν ἐπαινοῦσιν, ὅτι φθόνω καὶ πρὸς ὕβριν ἀποδειχθεὶς τέλμαρχος' ὑπὸ τῶν Θηβαίων οὐκ ἡμέλησεν, ἀλλ' εἰπὼν ὡς οὐ μόνον ἀρχὴ ἄνδρα δείκυνοιν ἀλλὰ

<sup>1</sup> τέλμαρχος Winckelmann and van Herwerden: τελέαρχος.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> No such official as telearchos is mentioned elsewhere, and the word itself describes no function. On the other hand, telmarchos or telmatarchos, conjectured independently 999.

which they are thrown, so that which is spoken seems through the force and intellect of him who has been abused to turn back upon those who uttered the For example, the retort of Epameinondas to Callistratus, who reproached the Thebans and the Argives because Oedipus killed his father and Orestes killed his mother: "When we had driven out the doers of those deeds, you took them in," and that of Antalcidas the Spartan to the Athenian who said "We have often chased you away from the Cephissus," "Yes, but we have never had to chase you from the Eurotas." And Phocion also made a witty retort, when, after Demades had screamed "The Athenians will put you to death," he replied, "Yes, if they are crazy; but you are the one whom they will execute, if they are sane." And Crassus the orator, when Domitius said to him, " It was you, was it not, who wept when a lamprey died that you kept in a tank?" retorted with the question, "It was you, was it not, who buried three wives without shedding a tear?" Apt replies of this sort, however, are of some use also in life in general. 15. There are men who enter upon every kind of

public service, as Cato did, claiming that the good citizen ought, so far as in him lies, to omit no trouble or diligence; and they commend Epameinondas bccause, when through envy and as an insult he had been appointed telnarch by the Thebans, he did not neglect his duties, but saying that not only does the office distinguish the man, but also the man the by Winckelmann and van Herwerden, although not found elsewhere, gives a meaning which accords with Plutarch's description, "official of stagnant pools," or a special kind of collector of refuse and other nuisances from the streets, very like the koprologio of Athens.

223

(811) καὶ ἀρχὴν ἀνήρ, εἰς μέγα καὶ σεμνὸν ἀξίωμα προ-ήγαγε τὴν τελμαρχίαν, οὐδὲν οῦσαν πρότερον ἀλλ' ἢ περὶ τοὺς στενωποὺς ἐκβολῆς κοπρίων καὶ ρευμάτων ἀποτροπῆς ἐπιμέλειάν τίνα. κάγὼ δ' ἀμέλει παρέχω γέλωτα τοις παρεπιδημοῦσιν, δρώμενος ἐν δημοσίω περί τὰ τοιαθτα πολλάκις άλλά βοηθεῖ μοι τὸ τοῦ 'Αντισθένους μνημονευόμενον θαυμά-Ο σαντος γάρ τινος, εί δι' άγορας αὐτὸς φέρει τάριχος, '' ἐμαυτῶ γ','' εἶπεν· ἐγὼ δ' ἀνάπαλιν πρὸς τοὺς έγκαλοῦντας, εἰ κεράμω παρέστηκα διαμετρουμένω καὶ φυράμασι καὶ λίθοις παρακομιζομένοις, οὐκ έμαυτώ γέ φημι ταθτ' οἰκονομεῖν² ἀλλὰ τῆ πατρίδι. καί γάρ είς άλλα πολλά μικρός άν τις είη καί γλίσχρος αύτῶ διοικῶν καὶ δι' αύτὸν πραγματευόμενος· εί δὲ δημοσία και διὰ τὴν πόλιν, οὐκ άγεννής, άλλά μείζον το μέχρι μικρών ἐπιμελὲς καί πρόθυμον. ἔτεροι δὲ σεμνότερον οἴονται καὶ μεγαλοπρεπέστερον είναι τὸ τοῦ Περικλέους. ὧν καὶ Κριτόλαός ἐστιν ὁ Περιπατητικὸς ἀξιῶν, ὥσπερ D ή Σαλαμινία ναθς 'Αθήνησι καὶ ή Πάραλος οὐκ ἐπὶ πῶν ἔργον ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὰς ἀναγκαίας καὶ μεγάλας κατεσπώντο πράξεις, οὕτως έαυτώ πρὸς τὰ κυριώτατα καὶ μέγιστα χρησθαι, ώς ὁ τοῦ κόσμου βασιλεύς,

> τῶν ἄγαν γὰρ ἄπτεται θεός, τὰ μικρὰ δ' εἰς τύχην ἀνεὶς³ ἐῷ

κατά τὸν Εὐριπίδην.

τελμαρχίαν Winckelmann and van Herwerden: τελεαρχίαν.
 οἰκονομεῖν Xylander: οἰκοδομῶν.
 ἀνεὶς ἀφεὶς Moralia, 464 A.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Nauck, Trag. Graec. Frag. p. 675, no. 974. From an unknown play, quoted also Moralia, 464 A.
224

office, he advanced the telmarchy to a position of great consideration and dignity, though previously it had been nothing but a sort of supervision of the alleys for the removal of dung and the draining off of water in the streets. And no doubt I myself seem ridiculous to visitors in our town when I am seen in public, as I often am, engaged in such matters. But I am helped by the remark of Antisthenes which has been handed down to memory; for when someone expressed surprise that he himself carried a dried fish through the market-place, he said, "Yes, but it's for myself ": but I, on the other hand, say to those who criticize me for standing and watching tiles being measured or concrete that I attend to these thing my native place. Yes, for there are many other things in regard to which a man would be petty and sordid who managed them for himself and attended to them for his own sake, but if he does it for the public and for the State's sake, he is not ignoble, on the contrary his attention to duty and his zeal are all the greater when applied to little things. But there are others who think the conduct of Pericles was more dignified and splendid, one of whom is Critolaus the Peripatetic, who claims that just as the Salaminia and the Paralus, ships at Athens, were not sent out to sea for every service, but only for necessary and important missions, so the statesman should employ himself for the most momentous and important matters, as does the King of the Universe,

For God great things doth take in hand, But small things passing by he leaves to chance,<sup>a</sup>

according to Euripides.

(811) Οὐδὲ νὰρ τοῦ Θεανένους τὸ φιλότιμον ἄναν καὶ διλόνεικον επαινούμεν, ος ου μόνον την περίοδον νενικηκώς άλλά και πολλούς άγωνας, οὐ παγκρατίω μόνον άλλα και πυγμή και δολίχω, τέλος ήρωα δειπνῶν ἐπιταφίου τινός, ὥσπερ εἰώθει, προτεθείσης Ε άπασι της μερίδος, άναπηδήσας διεπαγκρατίασεν. ώς οὐδένα νικάν δέον αὐτοῦ παρόντος ὅθεν ἤθροισε χιλίους και διακοσίους στεφάνους, ων συρφετόν αν τις ήνήσαιτο τοὺς πλείστους. οὐδὲν οὖν τούτου διαφέρουσιν οί πρός πάσαν αποδυόμενοι πολιτικήν πράξιν, άλλά μεμπτούς τε ταχύ ποιοῦσιν έαυτούς τοῖς πολλοῖς, ἐπαχθεῖς τε γίγνονται καὶ κατορθούντες ἐπίφθονοι, κᾶν σφαλώσιν, ἐπίγαρτοι. καὶ τὸ θαυμαζόμενον αὐτῶν ἐν ἀρχῆ τῆς ἐπιμελείας είς γλευασμόν ύπονοστεί και νέλωτα, τοιοθτον τό

Γ Μητίοχος μέν γάρ στρατηγεῖ, Μητίοχος δὲ τὰς όδούς.

Μητίοχος δ' άρτους ἐπωπῷ, Μητίοχος δὲ τάλφιτα.

Μητίοχος δὲ πάντ' ἀκεῖται, Μητίοχος δ' οἰμώξεται.

τῶν Περικλέους οὖτος εἶς ἦν έταίρων, τῆ δι' ἐκεῖνον, ώς ἔοικε, δυνάμει χρώμενος ἐπιφθόνως καὶ κατακόρως. δεί δέ, ως φασιν, ερώντι τῷ δήμω τον πολιτικόν προσφέρεσθαι και μή παρόντος

<sup>1</sup> δολίχω Bernardakis: δολιχώ. 2 τοιοῦτον το Duebner: τοιοῦτον.

<sup>3</sup> έπωπά Dindorf: ἐπώπτα οτ ἐποπτά. • πάντ' ἀνεῖται Abresch and Bernardakis: πάντα κεῖται.

a Refers to the four great festivals: the Olympic, the Pythian, the Isthmian, and the Nemean games.

Neither do we commend the ambition and contentiousness of Theagenes who, after being victorious. not only in the circuit of festivals, a but in many other contests besides, not only in the pancratium, but also in boxing and long-distance running,b at last, when at certain commemorative funeral ceremonies he was partaking of the feast to honour the deceased as a hero, and all present had, as was the custom, their several portions already set before them, sprang up and performed a whole pancratium, as if it were wrong for anyone else to be a victor when he was present; for he had collected by such means twelve hundred head-bands, most of which might be regarded as rubbish. Now there is no difference between him and those who strip for every political activity: they soon cause themselves to be criticized by the multitude; they become unpopular and arouse envy when they are successful, but joy when they meet with failure: and that which was admired in them when they began to hold office results at last in mockery and ridicule. Such are the lines:

Metiochus, you see, is general, Metiochus inspects the roads, Metiochus inspects the bread, and Metiochus inspects the flour,

Metiochus takes care of all things, Metiochus will come to grief.°

He was one of Pericles' followers and seems to have used the power gained through him in such a way as to arouse odium and disgust. For the statesman ought, as they say, to find the people fond of him when he comes to them and to leave a longing for

<sup>c</sup> From a poet of the Old Comedy, Kock, Com. Att. Frag. iii. p. 629, no. 1325.

b The length was twenty stadia, slightly more than two and a quarter miles,

έσυτοῦ πόθου ἐυσπολείπειν: δ καὶ Σκιπίων δ 812 'Αφρικανός έποίει πολύν γρόνον έν άνρω διαιτώμενος, αμα καὶ τοῦ φθόνου τὸ βάρος ἀφαιρῶν καὶ διδούς άναπνούν τοις πιέζεσθαι δοκούσιν ύπο της έκείνου δόξης. Τιμησίας δ' ό Κλαζομένιος τὰ μεν ἄλλα ῆν περὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός, τῷ δὲ πάντα πράσσειν δι' έαυτοῦ φθονούμενος ηγνόει καὶ μισούμενος έως αὐτῶ συνέβη τι τοιοῦτον ἔτυγον ἐν όδῶ παίδες ἐκ λάκκου τινός ἀστράναλον ἐκκόπτοντες. έκείνου παριόντος ών οί μεν έφασκον μένειν, ό δε πατάξας ''οὕτως,'' εἶπεν, '' ἐκκόψαιμι Τιμησίου τὸν ἐγκέφαλον, ὡς οὖτος ἐκκέκοπται.'' τοῦθ' ὁ Τιμησίας άκούσας και συνείς τον διήκοντα διά Β πάντων αύτοῦ αθόνον, αναστρέψας έφρασε τὸ πράγμα τη γυναικί, καὶ κελεύσας έπεσθαι συνεσκευασμένην εύθυς άπο των θυρών ώχετ' άπιων έκ της πόλεως. Εσικε δέ και Θεμιστοκλής, τοιούτου τινός απαντώντος αὐτώ παρά των 'Αθηναίων, είπειν "τί, ω μακάριοι, κοπιατε πολλάκις εῦ πάσγοντες: Τῶν δὲ τοιούτων τὰ μὲν ὀρθῶς τὰ δ' οὐκ εῦ

Τον δε τοιούτων τὰ μεν ὀρθῶς τὰ δ' οὐκ εδ λελεκται. τῆ μεν γὰρ εὐνοία καὶ κηδεμονία δεί μηδενὸς ἀφεστάναι τῶν κοινῶν, ἀλλὰ πῶσι προσέχειν καὶ γυγνώσκειν ἔκαστα, μηδ' ὤσπερ ἐν Ο πλοίω σκεῦος ἱερὸν ἀποκεῖσθαι τὰς ἐσχάτας περιμένοντα χρείας τῆς πόλεως καὶ τύχας ἀλλ' ὡς οἱ κυβερνῆται τὰ μεν ταῖς χεροὶ δι' αὐτῶν πράττουσι, τὰ δ' ὀργάγοις ἔτέροις δι' ἔτέρων ἄπωθεν καθ-

<sup>1</sup> αὐτοῦ Bernardakis: αὐτοῦ.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Meaning the largest anchor, held in reserve and used only in a crisis; ef. below, 815 p and Lucian, *Iuppiter Tragoedus*, chap. li. and scholium.

him when he is not there; which Scinio Africanus accomplished by spending much of his time in the country, thereby at one and the same time removing the weight of envy and giving a breathing-space to those who thought they were oppressed by his glory. But Timesias of Clazomenae was in other respects a good man in his service to the State, but by doing everything himself he had aroused rancour and hatred: but of this he was unaware until the following incident took place :- Some boys were knocking a knuckle-bone out of a hole when he was passing by: and some of them said it was still in the hole, but the boy who had struck at it said : "I'd like to knock the brains out of Timesias as truly as this has been knocked out of the hole." Timesias, hearing this and understanding that dislike of him had permeated all the people, returned home and told his wife what had happened; and directing her to pack up and follow him, he went immediately away from his house and out from the city. And it appears that Themistocles. when he met with some such treatment from the Athenians, said, "Why, my dear people, are you tired of receiving repeated benefits?

Now of such sayings some are well said, others are not. For so far as goodwill and solicitude for the common weal are concerned, a statesman should not hold aloof from any part of public affairs, but should pay attention to them all and inform himself about all details; nor should he, as the ship's gear called sacred a is stowed apart, hold himself aloof, waiting for the extreme necessities and fortunes of the State; but just as pilots do some things with their own hands but perform other duties by means of different instruments operated by different agents, thus giving

(802) ήμενοι περιάνουσι καὶ στρέφουσι, γρώνται δὲ καὶ ναύταις καὶ πρωρεθσι καὶ κελευσταίς, καὶ τούτων ένίους άνακαλούμενοι πολλάκις εἰς πρύμναν έγγειοίζουσι το πηδάλιον ούτω τῶ πολιτικῶ προσήκει παραγωρείν μεν επέροις άρχειν καὶ προσκαλείσθαι πρός τό βημα μετ' εὐμενείας καὶ φιλανθρωπίας. κινείν δε μή πάντα τὰ τῆς πόλεως τοῖς αὐτοῦ λόνοις και ψηφίσμασιν ή πράξεσιν, άλλ' έγοντα πιστούς και αναθούς ανδρας εκαστον εκάστη γρεία κατά το οίκειον προσαρμόττειν ώς Περικλής D Μενίππω μεν εγρητο πρός τας στρατηνίας, δι'

Έφιάλτου δὲ τὴν ἐξ ᾿Αρείου πάγου βουλὴν ἐταπείνωσε. διὰ δὲ Χαρίνου τὸ κατὰ Μεγαρέων ἐκύρωσε ψήφισμα, Λάμπωνα δέ Θουρίων οἰκιστὴν έξέπεμψεν. οὐ γὰρ μόνον, της δυνάμεως εἰς πολλούς διανέμεσθαι δοκούσης, ήττον ένοχλει των φθόνων τό μέγεθος, άλλά και τά των χρειών ἐπιτελεῖται μαλλον. ώς γάρ ὁ τῆς χειρός είς τοὺς δακτύλους μερισμός οὐκ ἀσθενῆ πεποίηκεν ἀλλὰ τεγνικήν καὶ όρνανικήν αὐτής την χρησιν, ούτως ο πραγμάτων

Ε έτέροις εν πολιτεία μεταδιδούς ενεργοτέραν ποιεί τη κοινωνία την πραξιν. ο δ' απληστία δόξης η δυνάμεως πάσαν αύτω την πόλιν άνατιθείς και πρός δ μη πέφυκε μηδ' ήσκηται προσάνων αύτόν, ώς Κλέων πρός το στρατηγείν, Φιλοποίμην δε πρός τὸ ναυαργείν, 'Αννίβας δὲ πρὸς τὸ δημηγορείν, οὐκ έγει παραίτησιν άμαρτάνων άλλά προσακούει τό τοῦ Εὐοιπίδου

τέκτων γάρ ὢν ἔπρασσες οὐ ξυλουργικά

b Nauck, Trag. Graec. Frag. p. 678, no. 988.

a Passed in 432 s.c. excluding Megara from commerce with Athens and her allies.

a turn or a twist to the instruments while they sit apart, and they make use of sailors, look-out men. and boatswains, some of whom they often call to the stern and entrust with the tiller, just so it is fitting that the statesman should yield office to others and should invite them to the orators' platform in a gracious and kindly manner, and he should not try to administer all the affairs of the State by his own speeches, decrees, and actions, but should have good, trustworthy men and employ each of them for each particular service according to his fit-So Pericles made use of Menipous for the position of general, humbled the Council of the Areonagus by means of Ephialtes, passed the decree against the Megarians a by means of Charinus, and sent Lampon out as founder of Thurii. For, when power seems to be distributed among many, not only does the weight of hatreds and enmities become less troublesome, but there is also greater efficiency in the conduct of affairs. For just as the division of the hand into fingers does not make it weak, but renders it a more skillful instrument for use, so the statesman who gives to others a share in the government makes action more effective by co-operation. But he who through insatiable greed of fame or power puts the whole burden of the State upon himself and sets himself even to tasks for which he is not fitted by nature or by training (as Cleon set himself to leading armies, Philopoemen to commanding ships, and Hannibal to haranguing the people)-such a man has no excuse when he makes mistakes, but will have to hear Euripides quoted to boot,

> A joiner thou, yet didst a task essay That was no carpentry.<sup>b</sup>

λένειν ἀπίθανος ὢν ἐπρέσβευες ἢ ράθυμος ὢν ώκονόμεις, ψήφων ἄπειρος ἐταμίενες ἢ γέρων καὶ F ασθενής εστρατήνεις. Περικλής δε και πρός Κίμωνα διενείματο την δύναμιν, αὐτός μεν ἄρχειν έν ἄστει, τὸν δὲ πληρώσαντα τὰς ναῦς τοῖς βαρβάροις πολεμείν. ήν γάρ ὁ μέν πρός πολιτείαν ὁ δὲ πρός πόλεμον εὐφυέστερος. ἐπαινοῦσι δὲ καὶ τὸν Αναφλύστιον Εύβουλον, ότι πίστιν έγων έν τοις μάλιστα καὶ δύναμιν οὐδεν τῶν Ελληνικῶν ἔπραξεν ούδ' ἐπὶ στρατηγίαν ἦλθεν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὰ χρήματα τάξας έαυτὸν ηθέησε τὰς κοινὰς προσόδους καὶ μεγάλα την πόλιν ἀπὸ τούτων ἀφέλησεν. 'Ιφικράτης δε και μελέτας λόνων ποιούμενος εν οίκω πολλών 813 παρόντων, έχλευάζετο καὶ γὰρ εἰ λογεύς ἀγαθὸς άλλα μη φαῦλος ην, έδει την έν τοις όπλοις δόξαν άναπώντα της σχολης εξίστασθαι τοις σοφισταίς.

16. Ἐπεὶ δὲ παυτὶ δήμω τὸ κακόηθες καὶ φιλαίτων ἔνεστι πρὸς τοὺς πολιτευομένους καὶ πολλὰ τῶν χρησίμων, ἄν μὴ στάσιν ἔχη μηδ' ἀντιλογίαν, ὑπονοοῦσι πράττεσθαι συνωμοτικῶς, καὶ τοῦτο διαβάλει μάλιστα τὰς ἔταιρείας καὶ φιλίας, ἀληθινὴν μὲν ἔχθραν ἢ διαφορὰν οὐδεμίαν ἐαυτοῖς ὑπολειπτέον, ὡς ὁ τῶν Χίων δημαγωγὸς ՝Ονομάδημος οὐκ εία τῆ στάσει κρατήσας πάντας ἐκβάλλειν τοὺς Β ὑπεναντίους '' ὅπως '' ἔφη '΄ μὴ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ἀρξώμεθα διαφέρεσθαι, τῶν ἔχθρῶν παντάπασιν ἀπαλλαγέντες.'' τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ εἴηθες ἀλλ' ὅταν ἀπαλλαγέντες.''

a Negotiations with other Greek states.

So. being no persuasive speaker, you went on an embassy, or being easy-going you undertook administration, being ignorant of accounting you were treasurer, or when old and feeble you took command of an army. But Pericles divided the power with Cimon so that he should himself be ruler in the city and Cimon should man the ships and wage war against the barbarians : for one of them was more gifted for civic government, the other for war. And Eubulus the Anaphlystian also is commended because, although few men enjoyed so much confidence and power as he, yet he administered none of the Hellenic affairs a and did not take the post of general, but applied himself to the finances, increased the revenues, and did the State much good thereby. But Iphicrates was icered at when he did exercises in speaking at his home in the presence of many hearers; for even if he had been a good speaker, and not, as he was, a poor one, he ought to have been contented with glory in arms and to have left the school to the sophists.

16. But since there is in every democracy a spirit of malice and fault-finding directed against men in public life, and they suspect that many desirable measures, if there is no party opposition and no ex-

pression of dissent, are done by

subjects a man's associations and statesmen ought not to let any real enmity or disagreement against themselves subsist, as Onomademus the popular leader of the Chians did when, after his victory in the factional strife, he refused to have all his opponents banished from the city, "that we may not," he said "begin to quarrel with our friends when we have altogether got rid of our enemies." Now that was silly; but when the popu-

(813) ὖπόπτως ἔχωσιν οἱ πολλοὶ πρός τι πρᾶγμα καὶ μέγα καὶ σωτήριον, οὐ δεῖ πάντας ὥσπερ ἀπὸ συντάξεως ἤκοντας τὴν αὐτὴν λέγειν γνώμην, ἀλλὰ καὶ δύο καὶ τρεῖς διαστάντας ἀντιλέγειν ἢρέμα τῶν φίλων, εἶθ' ὥσπερ ἐξελεγχομένους μετατίθεσθαι· συνεφ-ἐλκονται γὰρ οὕτω τὸν δῆμον, ὑπὸ τοῦ συμφέροντος ἄγεσθαι δόξαντες. ἐν μέντοι τοῖς ἐλάπτοσι καὶ ἀληθῶς ἐᾶν διαφέρεσθαι τοὺς φίλους, ἔκαστον ἰδίψ λογισμῷ χρώμενον, ὅπως περὶ τὰ κυριώτατα καὶ μέγιστα φαίνωνται πρὸς τὸ βέλτιστον οὐκ ἐκ παρασκενῆς ὁμοφρονοῦντες.

τικὸς ὥσπερ ἡγεμὼν ἐν μελίτταις, καὶ τοῦτο χρὴ διανοούμενον ἔχειν τὰ δημόσια διὰ χειρός· ας δ' ὀνομάζουσιν ἔξουσίας καὶ χειροτονοῦσιν ἀρχὰς μήτ ἄγαν διώκειν καὶ πολλάκις, οὐ γὰρ σεμνὸν οὐδὲ δημοτικὸν ἡ φιλαρχία· μήτ' ἀπωθεῖσθαι, τοῦ δήμου κατὰ νόμον διδόντος καὶ καλοῦντος· ἀλλὰ κὰν ταπεινότεραι τῆς δόξης ώσι, δέχεσθαι καὶ συμ-D φιλοτιμεῖσθαι· δίκαιον γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν μειζόνων κοσμουμένους ἀρχῶν ἀντικοσμεῖν τὰς ἐλάπτονας, καὶ τῶν μὲν βαρυτέρων οἶον στρατηγίας 'Αθήνησι καὶ πρυτανείας ἐν 'Ρόδω καὶ βοιωταρχίας παρ' ἡμῦν, ὑφίεσθαί τι καὶ παρενδιδόναι μετριάζοντα ταῖς δὲ μικροτέραις ἀξίωμα προστιθέναι καὶ ὄγκον, ὅπως μήτε περὶ ταύτας εὐκαταφρόνητοι μήτ ἐπίφθονοι περὶ ἐκείνας ὧμεν. εἰσιόντα δ' εἰς ἄπασαν

17. Φύσει μέν οὖν ἄρχων ἀεὶ πόλεως ὁ πολι-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> The Greeks did not know that the most important bee in the hive was female—the queen bee.

lace are suspicious about some important and salutary measure, the statesmen when they come to the assembly ought not all to express the same opinion, as if by previous agreement, but two or three of the friends should dissent and quietly speak on the other side, then change their position as if they had been convinced; for in this way they draw the people along with them, since they appear to be influenced only by the public advantage. In small matters, however, which do not amount to much, it is not a bad thing to let one's friends really disagree, each following his own matters of the highest importance upon the best

policy may not seem to be prearranged.

17. Now the statesman is always by nature ruler of the State, like the leader a bee in the hive, and bearing this in mind he ought to keep public matters in his own hands; but offices which are called "authorities" and are elective he ought not to seek too eagerly or often, for love of office is neither dignified nor popular : nor should be refuse them, if the people offer them and call him to them in accordance with the law, but even if they be too small for a man of his reputation, he should accept them and exercise them with zeal; for it is right that men who are adorned with the highest offices should in turn adorn the lesser, and that statesmen should show moderation, giving up and yielding some part of the weightier offices, such as the generalship at Athens, the prytany at Rhodes, and the Boeotarchy here. and should add to the minor offices dignity and grandeur, that we may not be despised in connexion with the latter, nor envied on account of the former. And when entering upon any office whatsoever, you

άρχὴν οὐ μόνον ἐκείνους δεῖ προχειρίζεσθαι τοὺς λογισμούς, οθς ο Περικλής αυτον υπεμίμνησκεν Ε ἀναλαμβάνων την χλαμίδα, "πρόσεχε, Περίκλεις ἐλευθέρων ἄρχεις, Έλλήνων ἄρχεις, πολιτῶν 'Αθηναίων " άλλα κάκεινο λέγειν πρός έαυτόν, " άρχόμενος άρχεις, υποτεταγμένης πόλεως ανθυπάτοις, έπιτρόποις Καίσαρος. 'οὐ ταῦτα λόγχη πεδιάς.'1 οὐδ' αἱ παλαιαὶ Σάρδεις οὐδ' ἡ Λυδῶν ἐκείνη δύναμις''· εὐσταλεστέραν δεῖ τὴν χλαμύδα ποιεῖν, καὶ βλέπειν από τοῦ στρατηγίου πρός το βημα, καὶ τῷ στεφάνω μη πολύ φρονείν μηδέ πιστεύειν, ορώντα τούς καλτίους ἐπάνω τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀλλὰ μιμεῖσθαι F τους υποκριτάς, πάθος μεν ίδιον και ήθος και άξίωμα τῷ ἀγῶνι προστιθέντας, τοῦ δ' ὑποβολέως άκούοντας καὶ μὴ παρεκβαίνοντας τοὺς ρυθμούς καὶ τὰ μέτρα τῆς διδομένης έξουσίας ὑπὸ τῶν κρατούντων. ή γαρ έκπτωσις ου φέρει συριγμόν ουδέ χλευασμόν οὐδὲ κλωγμόν, ἀλλὰ πολλοῖς μὲν ἐπέβη

δεινός κολαστής πέλεκυς αὐχένος τομεύς,

ώς τοις περί Παρδάλαν τὸν ὑμέτερον ἐκλαθομένοις τῶν ὅρων: ὁ δέ τις ἐκριφείς εἰς νῆσον γέγονε κατὰ τὸν Σόλωνα

Φολεγάνδριος ἢ Σικινήτης, ἀντί γ' 'Αθηναίου πατρίδ' ἀμειψάμενος.

1 λόγχη πεδιάς Duebner (from Sophocles, Trach. 1058): λόγχης πεδία.

άπο τοῦ στρατηγίου πρός τὸ βῆμα] ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος πρός τὸ στρατήγιον Kaltwasser. \* φρονεῦν μηδὲ Coracs: φρόνημα. προστιθέντας μὴ προστιθέντας (?) Capps; of Life of Demosthenes, chap. xxii. 856 A.

5 Σικινήτης Bergk: σικινίτης.

814

Sophocles, Trachiniae, 1058.

must not only call to mind those considerations of which Perioles reminded himself when he assumed the cloak of a general: "Take care, Pericles: you are ruling free men, you are ruling Greeks, Athenian citizens," but you must also say to yourself: "You who rule are a subject, ruling a State controlled by proconsuls, the agents of Caesar; 'these are not the spearmen of the plain,'a nor is this ancient Sardis, nor the famed Lydian power. "You should arrange your cloak more carefully and from the office of the generals keep your eyes upon the orators' platform, and not have great pride or confidence in your crown, since you see the boots of Roman soldiers just above your head. No, you should imitate the actors, who, while putting into the performance their own passion, character, and reputation, vet listen to the prompter and do not go beyond the degree of liberty in rhythms and metres permitted by those in authority over them. For to fail in one's part in public life brings not mere hissing or catcalls or stamping of feet, but many have experienced

The dread chastiser, axe that cleaves the neck,\*

as did your countryman Pardalas and his followers when they forgot their proper limitations. And many another, banished to an island, has become, as Solon says.<sup>4</sup>

Pholegandrian or Sicinete, No more Athenian, having changed his home.

b In Greece of Plutarch's time "those in authority" in political matters were the Romans.

Nauck, Trag. Graec. Frag. p. 918, no. 412; from an unknown play.
Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Graec. ii. p. 34.
237

(814) Τὰ μέν γὰρ μικρά παιδία τῶν πατέρων δρῶντες έπιχειρούντα τὰς κρηπίδας ὑποδεῖσθαι καὶ τοὺς στεφάνους περιτίθεσθαι μετά παιδιάς γελώμεν, οί δ' άρχοντες έν ταις πόλεσιν άνοήτως τὰ τῶν προγόνων έργα καὶ φρονήματα καὶ πράξεις ἀσυμμέτρους τοῖς παροθοι καιροίς καὶ πράγμασιν οθσας μιμεῖσθαι κελεύοντες έξαίρουσι τὰ πλήθη, γέλωτά τε ποιοῦντες1 οὐκέτι γέλωτος ἄξια πάσχουσιν, ἂν μὴ πάνυ καταφρονηθώσι. πολλά γάρ έστιν άλλα των πρότερον Β Ελλήνων διεξιόντα τοῖς νῦν ήθοποιεῖν καὶ σωφρονίζειν, ώς 'Αθήνησιν ύπομιμνήσκοντα μή των πολεμικών, άλλ' οξόν έστι το ψήφισμα το της άμνηστίας έπὶ τοῖς τριάκοντα· καὶ τὸ ζημιώσαι Φρύνιγον τραγωδία διδάξαντα την Μιλήτου άλωσιν καί ότι, Θήβας Κασάνδρου κτίζοντος, εστεφανηφόρησαν τον δ' εν "Αργει πυθόμενοι σκυταλισμόν, έν ω πεντακοσίους και χιλίους ανηρήκεσαν έξ αύτων οί 'Αργείοι, περιενεγκείν καθάρσιον περί την εκκλησίαν εκέλευσαν εν δε τοις Αρπαλείοις τάς ολκίας έρευνωντες μόνην την του γεγαμηκότος νεωστί παρήλθον. ταθτα γάρ καὶ νθν έξεστι ζη-Ο λοῦντας εξομοιοῦσθαι τοῖς προγόνοις τὸν δὲ Μαραθώνα καὶ τὸν Εὐρυμέδοντα καὶ τὰς Πλαταιάς. καὶ ὄσα τῶν παραδειγμάτων οἰδεῖν ποιεῖ καὶ φρυάτ-

<sup>2</sup> αὐτῶν Bernardakis: αὐτῶν.

<sup>1</sup> γέλωτά τε ποιοῦντες Bernardakis: γελωτοποιοῦντες οτ γελοῖά τε ποιοῦντες.

The Thirty Tyrants at Athens were overthrown in 403 s.c.; Phrynichus presented the tragedy shortly after Miletus was captured by the Persians in 494 s.c.; Cassander 238

Furthermore when we see little children trying playfully to bind their fathers' shoes on their feet or fit their crowns upon their heads, we only laugh, but the officials in the cities, when they foolishly urge the people to imitate the deeds, ideals, and actions of their ancestors, however unsuitable they may be to the present times and conditions, stir up the common folk and, though what they do is laughable, what is done to them is no laughing matter, unless they are merely treated with utter contempt. Indeed there are many acts of the Greeks of former times by recounting which the statesman can mould and correct the characters of our contemporaries, for example, at Athens by calling to mind, not deeds in war, but such things as the decree of annesty after the downfall of the Thirty Tyrants, the fining of Phrynichus for presenting in a tragedy the capture of Miletus, their decking their heads with garlands when Cassander refounded Thebes; how, when they heard of the clubbing at Argos, in which the Argives killed fifteen hundred of their own citizens, they decreed that an expiatory sacrifice be carried about in the assembly; and how, when they were searching the houses at the time of Harpalus's frauds, a they passed by only one, that of a newly married man. By emulating acts like these it is even now possible to resemble our ancestors, but Marathon, the Eurymedon, Plataea, and all the other examples which make the common folk vainly to swell with

refounded Thebes in 316–315 s.c., ten years after its destruction by Alexander; the clubbing of aristocrats at Argos by the mob took place in 370 s.c.; Harpalus, Alexander's treasurer, brought to Athens in 329 s.c. funds stolen from Alexander and was supposed to have bribed many prominent Athenians, one of whom was Demosthenes.

 (814) τεσθαι διακενής τούς πολλούς, ἀπολιπόντας ἐν ταῖς σχολαῖς τῶν σοφιστῶν.

18. Οὐ μόνον δὲ δεῖ παρέγειν αὐτόν τε καὶ τὴν πατρίδα πρός τους ήγεμόνας αναίτιον, άλλα καί φίλον έχειν ἀεί τινα τῶν ἄνω δυνατωτάτων, " ὥσπερ έρμα της πολιτείας βέβαιον αὐτοὶ γάρ εἰσι 'Ρωμαΐοι πρός τὰς πολιτικάς σπουδάς προθυμότατοι τοις φίλοις και καρπόν έκ φιλίας ήγεμονικής λαμβάνοντας, οίον έλαβε Πολύβιος και Παναίτιος τη D Σκιπίωνος εὐνοία πρός αὐτοὺς<sup>8</sup> μεγάλα τὰς πατοίδας ωφελήσαντες, είς εὐδαιμονίαν δημοσίαν εξενένκασθαι καλόν. "Αρειόν τε Καΐσαρ, ότε την 'Αλεξάνδρειαν είλε, διὰ χειρός έχων καὶ μόνω προσομιλών τών συνήθων συνεισήλασεν, είτα τοίς 'Αλεξανδρεῦσι τὰ ἔσχατα προσδοκῶσι καὶ δεομένοις ἔφη διαλλάττεσθαι διά τε τὸ μέγεθος τῆς πόλεως καὶ διὰ τὸν οἰκιστὴν ᾿Αλέξανδρον, ΄΄ καὶ τρίτον," έφη, " τῶ φίλω μου τούτω χαριζόμενος." άρά γ' άξιον τη χάριτι ταύτη παραβαλείν τὰς πολυταλάντους ἐπιτροπὰς καὶ διοικήσεις τῶν έπαρχιών, ας διώκοντες οί πολλοί γηράσκουσι πρός άλλοτρίαις θύραις, τὰ οἴκοι προλιπόντες ή

<sup>1</sup> τῶν ἄνω δυνατωτάτων] Bernardakis remarks that we should read either τῶν ἄνω (preferably) or τῶν δυνατωτάτων and that in the Palatine codex ἄνω is written above the line by the first hand.

<sup>2</sup> λαμβάνοντας Xylander: λαμβάνοντες.

a autous autous Bernardakis.

<sup>4</sup> εὐδαιμονίαν δημοσίαν Bernardakis (δημοσίαν εὐδαιμονίαν Wyttenbach): εὐδαιμονίαν.

pride and kick up their heels, should be left to the

schools of the sophists.

18. And not only should the statesman show himself and his native State blameless towards our rulers.a but he should also have always a friend among the men of high station who have the greatest power as a firm bulwark, so to speak, of his administration: for the Romans themselves are most eager to promote the political interests of their friends: and it is a fine thing also, when we gain advantage from the friendship of great men, to turn it to the welfare of our community, as Polybius and Panactius. through Scipio's goodwill towards them, conferred great benefits upon their native States. And Caesar, when he took Alexandria, drove into the city holding Areius by the hand and conversing with him only of all his friends, then said to the Alexandrians, who ware avnesting the most extreme measures and were

that he pardoned them on account of the greatness of their city and for the sake of its founder Alexander, "and thirdly," said he, "as a favour to my friend here." Is there any comparison between such a favour and the procuratorships and governorships of provinces from which many talents may be gained and in pursuit of which most public men grow old haunting the doors of other men's houses "and leaving their own affairs uncared for?

<sup>·</sup> i.e. the Romans.

b Arcadia and Rhodes respectively. Polybius was a statesman and historian, Panaetius a Stoic philosopher.

Augustus Caesar is meant. For a further account of his treatment of Arcius see *Life of Antony*, chap, bxxx.
 This refers to the Roman custom of greeting at the

front door.

Ε τον Εθριπίδην ἐπανορθωτέον ἄδοντα καὶ λέγοντα, ώς εἴπερ ἀγρυπνεῖν χρὴ καὶ φοιτᾶν ἐπ' αὔλειον¹ ἐτέρου καὶ ὑποβάλλειν ἐαυτὸν ἡγεμονικῆ συνηθεία, πατρίδος πέρι κάλλιστον ἐπὶ ταῦτα χωρεῖν, τὰ δ' ἄλλα τὰς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἴσοις καὶ δικαίοις φιλίας ἀσπάζεσθαι καὶ φυλάττειν;

19. Ποιοῦντα μέντοι καὶ παρέχοντα τοῖς κρατοῦσιν εἰπειθῆ τὴν πατρίδα δεῖ μὴ προσεκταπει
Ενοῦν, μηδὲ τοῦ σκέλους δεδεμένου προσυποβάλλειν καὶ τὸν τράχηλον, ὥσπερ ἔνιοι, καὶ μικρὰ καὶ μείζω φέροντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἐξονειδίζουσι τὴν δουλείαν, μᾶλλον δ' ὅλως τὴν πολιτείαν ἀναιροῦσι, καταπλῆγα καὶ περιδεᾶ καὶ πάντων ἄκυρον ποιοῦντες. ὥσπερ γὰρ οἱ χωρὶς ἱατροῦ μήτε δειπνεῖν μήτε λούεσθαι συνεθισθέντες οὐδ' ὅσον ἡ φύσις δίδωσι χρῶνται τῷ ὑγιαίνειν, οὕτως οἱ παντὶ δόγματι καὶ συνεδρίω καὶ χάριτι καὶ διοικήσει προσάγοντες ἡγεμονικὴν κρίσιν ἀναγκάζουσιν ἐαυ-

815 τῶν μᾶλλον ἢ βούλονται δεοπότας εἶναι τοὺς ἡγουμένους. αἰτία δὲ τούτου μάλιστα πλεονεζία καὶ φιλονεικία τῶν πρώτων ἢ γὰρ ἐν οῖς βλάπτουσι τοὺς ἐλάττονας ἐκβιάζονται φεύγειν τὴν πόλιν ἢ περὶ ὧν διαφέρονται πρὸς ἀλλήλους οὐκ ἀξιοῦντες

1 αὔλειον Hartman: αὔλιον.

εἴπερ γὰρ ἀδικεῖν χρή, τυραννίδος πέρι κάλλιστον ἀδικεῖν.

If wrong be ever right, for the throne's sake Were wrong most right. (Way's translation.)

If Plutarch quotes this passage, correcting it to suit his pur- 242

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Euripides in *Phoenissae 524* f. represents Eteocles as saying—

Or should we correct Euripides a when he chants the sentiment that if a man must spend sleepless nights and haunt another man's court and subject himself to an intimacy with a great man, it is best to do so for the sake of his native land, but otherwise it is best to welcome and hold fast friendships based on equality and justice?

19. However, the statesman, while making his native State readily obedient to its sovereigns, must not further humble it; nor, when the leg has been fettered, go on and subject the neck to the yoke, as some do who, by referring everything, great or small, to the sovereigns, bring the reproach of slavery upon their country, or rather wholly destroy its constitution.

. t as those who have be-

come accustomed neither to dine nor to bathe except by the physician's orders do not even enjoy that degree of health which nature grants them, so those who invite the sovereign's decision on every decree, meeting of a council, granting of a privilege, b or administrative measure, force their sovereign to be their master more than he desires. And the cause of this is chiefly the greed and contentiousness of the foremost citizens; for either, in cases in which they are injuring their inferiors, they force them into exile from the State, or, in matters concerning which they differ among themselves, since they are un-

pose, he simply substitutes  $\delta_{eph}$  where  $\delta_{eph}$  and  $\pi arp \delta_{or}$  for  $\tau papav \delta_{os}$ . And the sentiment about equality, as the basis of true friendship, seems to be an echo of 535 f. of the same play. This method of dealing with passages from the poets is not infrequently employed by Plutarch.

b This doubtless refers to honorary citizenship, crowns,

statues, and the like.

(815) εν τοις πολίταις έγειν έλαττον επάγονται τους κρείττονας εκ τούτου δε καί βουλή καί δήμος καί δικαστήρια καὶ ἀρχὴ πᾶσα τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἀπόλλυσι. δεί δὲ τοὺς μὲν ίδιώτας ἰσότητι, τοὺς δὲ δυνατοὺς ανθυπείξει πραύνοντα κατέχειν έν τῆ πολιτεία καὶ διαλύειν τὰ πράγματα, πολιτικήν τινα ποιούμενον Β αὐτῶν ὥσπερ νοσημάτων ἀπόρρητον ἰατρείαν, αὐτόν τε μᾶλλον ήττᾶσθαι βουλόμενον εν τοῖς πολίταις η νικάν ύβρει καὶ καταλύσει των οἴκοι δικαίων, τών τ' άλλων έκάστου δεόμενον καὶ διδάσκοντα την φιλονεικίαν όσον έστι κακόν νῦν δ' όπως μή πολίταις καὶ φυλέταις οἴκοι καὶ γείτοσι καὶ συνάρχουσιν ἀνθυπείξωσι μετὰ τιμῆς καὶ χάριτος, ἐπὶ ῥητόρων θύρας καὶ πραγματικῶν γείρας εκφέρουσι σύν πολλή βλάβη καὶ αἰσχύνη τάς διαφοράς. οί μεν γάρ ιατροί τῶν νοσημάτων όσα μη δύνανται παντάπασιν άνελεῖν έξω τρέπουσιν είς την επιφάνειαν τοῦ σώματος ὁ δὲ πολιτικός, αν μη δύνηται την πόλιν απράγμονα παντελώς διαφυλάττειν, εν αὐτῆ γε πειράσεται τὸ ταρασσόμενον αὐτῆς καὶ στασιάζον ἀποκρύπτων ἰᾶσθαι καὶ διοικείν, ώς αν ήκιστα των έκτὸς ιστρών και . φαρμάκων δέοιτο. ή μεν γάρ προαίρεσις έστω Ο τοῦ πολιτικοῦ τῆς ἀσφαλείας ἐχομένη καὶ φεύγουσα τὸ ταρακτικὸν τῆς κενῆς δόξης καὶ μανικόν, ώς είρηται τη μέντοι διαθέσει φρόνημα καί

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> The citizens of most ancient states were divided into tribes or clans.

willing to occupy an inferior position among their fellow-citizens, they call in those who are mightier; and as a random control in the entire

the statesman should soothe the ordinary citizens by granting them equality and the powerful by concessions in return, thus keeping them within the bounds of the loc solving their difficulties as if making for them, as it were, a sort of secret political medicine; he will prefer to be himself defeated among his fellow-citizens rather than to be successful by outraging and destroying the principles of justice in his own city and he will beg everyone else to do likewise, and will teach them how great an evil is contentiousness. But as it is, not only do they not

ntentiousness. But as it is, not only do they not
with their
with their

neighbours and colleagues in office, but they carry their dissensions outside to the doors of professional orators and put them in the hands of lawvers, to their own great injury and disgrace. For when physicians cannot entirely eradicate diseases, they turn them outwards to the surface of the body; but the statesman, if he cannot keep the State entirely free from troubles, will at any rate try to cure and control whatever disturbs it and causes sedition, keeping it meanwhile hidden within the State, so that it may have as little need as possible of physicians and medicine drawn from outside. For the policy of the statesman should be that which holds fast to security and avoids the tumultuous and mad impulse of empty opinion, as has been said. In his disposition, however, high spirit and

(815) μένος πολυθαρσὲς ἐνέστω ἄτρομον, οἶόν τ' ἄνδρας ἐσέρχεται,¹ οἳ περὶ πάτρης

άνδράσι δυσμενέεσσι

καὶ πράγμασι δυσκόλοις καὶ καιροῖς ἀντερείδουσι καὶ διαμάχονται. δεῖ γὰρ οὐ ποιεῖν χειμῶνας αὐτὸν ἀλλὰ μὴ προλείπειν ἐπιπεσόντων, οὐδὲ D κινεῖν τὴν πόλιν ἐπισφαλῶς, σφαλλομένη δὲ καὶ κινδυνευούση βοηθεῖν, ὤσπερ ἄγκυραν ἱερὰν ἀράμενον ἐξ αὐτοῦ τὴν παρρησίαν ἐπὶ τοῖς μεγίστοις οἷα Περγαμηνοὺς ἐπὶ Νέρωνος κατέλαβε πράγματα, καὶ 'Poδίους ἔναγχος ἐπὶ Δομετιανοῦ, καὶ Θεσσαλοὺς πρότερον ἐπὶ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Πετραῖον ζῶντα κατακαύσαντας.

# ἔνθ' οὐκ ἂν βρίζοντα ἴδοις

οὖδὲ καταπτώσσοντα τὸν ἀληθῶς πολιτικὸν οὐδ' αἰτιώμενον ἐτέρους αὐτὸν δὲ τῶν δεινῶν ἔξω τιθέμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρεσβεύοντα καὶ πλέοντα καὶ λέγοντα πρῶτον οὐ μόνον

ηκομεν οἱ κτείναντες, ἀπότρεπε λοιγόν, "Απολλον,

άλλά, κἃν τῆς ἁμαρτίας μὴ μετάσχη τοῖς πολλοῖς; Ε τοὺς κινδύνους ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀναδεχόμενον. καὶ γὰρ καλὸν τοῦτο καὶ πρὸς τῷ καλῷ πολλάκις ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς ἀρετὴ καὶ φρόνημα θαυμασθὲν ἠμαύρωσε

1 ἐσέρχεται Homer: ἐπέρχεται.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Homer, Il. xvii. 156 ff.

courage must be, full of daring, Dauntless, and such as inspires all men who for weal of their country

'Gainst men of hostile intent "

and against difficult conditions and times stand firm in resistance and struggle to the end. For he must not create storms himself, and yet he must not desert the State when storms fall upon it; he must not stir up the State and make it reel perilously, but when it is reeling and in danger, he must come to its assistance and employ his frankness of speech as a sacred anchorb heaved over in the greatest perils. Such were the troubles which overtook the Pergamenes under Nero and the Rhodians recently under Domitian and the Thessalians carlier under Augustus, when they burned Petraeus alive.

Then slumb'ring thou never wouldst see him,"

nor cowering in fear, the man who is really a statesman, nor would you see him throwing blame upon others and putting himself out of danger, but you will see him serving on embassies, sailing the seas and saying first not only

Here we have come, the slayers; avert thou the plague, O Apollo, <sup>d</sup>

but, even though he had no part in the wrongdoing of the people, taking dangers upon himself in their behalf. For this is noble; and besides being noble, one man's excellence and wisdom by arousing admiration has often mitigated anger which has been

b See note on 812 B above.
 Homer, Il. iv. 223. Spoken of Agamemnon.
 d Callimachus, p. 787 ed. Schneider.

# PLUTARCH'S MORALIA τὴν πρὸς πάντας ὀργὴν καὶ διεσκέδασε τὸ φοβερὸν

καὶ πικρὸν τῆς ἀπειλῆς οἶα καὶ πρὸς Βοῦλιν ἔοικε καὶ Σπέρχιν τοὺς Σπαρτιάτας παθεῖν ὁ Πέρσης, καὶ πρὸς Σθέννωνα Πομπήιος ἔπαθεν, ὅτε, Μαμερτίνους μέλλοντος αὐτοῦ κολάζειν διὰ τὴν ἀπόστασιν, F οὐκ ἔφη δίκαια πράξειν αὐτὸν ὁ Σθέννων, εἰ πολλούς άναιτίους άπολει δι' ένα τον αίτιον ο γάρ αποστήσας την πόλιν αὐτὸς είναι τοὺς μὲν φίλους πείσας τους δ' έχθρους βιασάμενος, ούτω ταθτα διέθηκε τὸν Πομπήιον, ώστε καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀφείναι καὶ τῷ Σθέννωνι χρήσασθαι φιλανθρώπως. ό δὲ Σύλλα ξένος όμοία μὲν ἀρετῆ πρὸς οὐχ όμοίαν 816 δε χρησάμενος εύγενως ετελεύτησεν έπει γάρ έλων Πραινεστόν ὁ Σύλλας ἔμελλε τους ἄλλους απαντας αποσφάττειν ένα δ' εκείνον ήφίει δια την ξενίαν, εἰπὼν ώς οὐ βούλεται σωτηρίας χάριν είδέναι τῶ φονεί τῆς πατρίδος, ἀνέμιζεν έαυτὸν καὶ συγκατεκόπη τοῖς πολίταις. τοιούτους μέν οὖν καιρούς ἀπεύχεσθαι δεῖ καὶ τὰ βελτίονα προσδοκῶν.

20. Ίερὸν δὲ χρῆμα καὶ μέγα πᾶσαν ἀρχὴν οὖσαν καὶ ἄρχοντα δεῖ μάλιστα τιμᾶν, τιμὴ δ' ἀρχῆς όμοφροσύνη καὶ φιλία πρὸς συνάρχοντας πολὸ μᾶλλον ἢ στέφανοι καὶ χλαμὸς περιπόρφυρος. οἱ Β δὲ τὸ συστραπεύσασθαι καὶ συνεφηβεῦσαι φιλίας

The story of these two is told in Moralia, 235 F, 236.
 See Moralia, 203 D, where the name is Sthennius, and Life of Pompey, chap. x.

Athenian youths from eighteen to twenty years of age were called sphebi. For one year they were trained chiefly in gymnastics and military drill, then for a year they served 248

aroused against the whole people and has dissipated the threatened terror and bitterness. Something of that sort seems to have happened to the Persian king in the case of Boulis and Sperchis a the Spartans. and happened to Pompey in the case of Sthenno. when, as he was going to punish the Mamertines for revolting, Sthenno told him that he would be doing wrong if he should destroy many innocent men for the fault of one; for, he said, it was he himself who had caused the city to revolt by persuading his friends and compelling his enemies. This so affected Pompey that he let the city go unpunished and also treated Sthenno kindly. But Sulla's guest-friend, practising virtue of the same sort but not having to do with the same sort of man, met with a noble end. For when Sulla, after the capture of Praenestê, was going to slaughter all the rest of the citizens but was letting that one man go on account of his guest-friendship, he declared that he would not be indebted for his life to the slaver of his fatherland, and then mingled with his fellowcitizens and was cut down with them. However, we must pray to be spared such crises and must hope for better things.

20. And deeming every public office to be something great and sacred, we must also pay the highest honour to one who holds an office; but the honour of an office resides in concord and friendship with one's colleagues much more than in crowns and a purple-bordered robe. But those who consider that serving together in a campaign or in the school for young citizens is the beginning

as guards on the frontier. Cf. Aristotle, Constitution of Athens, chap. xlii.

(816) ἀρχὴν τιθέμενοι, τὸ δὲ συστρατηγεῖν καὶ συνάρχειν ἔχθρας αἰτίαν λαμβάνοντες, ἐν τῶν τριῶν κακῶν οὐ διαπεφεύγασιν· ἢ γὰρ ἴσους ἡγούμενοι τοὺς συνάρχοντας αὐτοὶ στασιάζουσιν ἢ κρείττονας φθονοῦσιν ἢ ταπεινοτέρους καταφρονοῦσι. δεῖ δὲ καὶ θεραπεύειν τὸν κρείττονα καὶ κοσμεῖν τὸν ἤττονα καὶ τιμῶν τὸν ὅμοιον, ἀσπάζεσθαι δὲ καὶ φιλεῖν ἄπαντας, ὡς

οὐ διὰ τραπέζης

οὐδὲ κώθωνος,

οὐδ' ἐφ' ἐστίας,

άλλά κοινή και δημοσία ψήφω φίλους γεγονότας καὶ τρόπον τινὰ πατρώαν τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς πατρίδος C εύνοιαν έχουτας, ό γοῦν Σκιπίων ἤκουσεν ἐν 'Ρώμη κακώς, ότι φίλους έστιων έπὶ τῆ καθιερώσει τοῦ Ἡρακλείου τὸν συνάρχοντα Μόμμιον ού παρέλαβε· καὶ νάρ, εὶ τάλλα μη φίλους ενόμιζον έαυτούς, έν τοις νε τοιούτοις ήξίουν τιμάν καί φιλοφρονείσθαι διά την άρχην. όπου τοίνυν άνδρί τάλλα θαυμασίω τῶ Σκιπίωνι μικρον ούτω φιλανθρώπευμα παραλειφθέν ύπεροψίας ήνεγκε δόξαν, ήπου κολούων ἄν τις άξίωμα συνάρχοντος ή πράξεσιν έγούσαις φιλοτιμίαν έπηρεάζων ή πάντα συλλήβδην άνατιθείς αμα καὶ περιάγων ὑπ' αὐθαδείας D είς έαυτον εκείνου δ' άφαιρούμενος, επιεικής αν φανείη καὶ μέτριος; μέμνημαι νέον έμαυτὸν ἔτι πρεσβευτήν μεθ' έτέρου πεμφθέντα πρός άνθύπατον, 250

of friendship, but regard joint service in the generalship or other office as the cause of enmity, have failed to avoid one of the three evils; for either they regard their colleagues as their equals and are themselves factious, or they envy them as their superiors, or despise them as their inferiors. But a man ought to conciliate his superior, add prestige to his inferior, honour his equal, and be affable and friendly to all, considering that they have been made

Friends, not of festive board,

nor of tankard,

nor of fireside's cheer,"

but all alike by vote of the people, and that they bear goodwill toward one another as a heritage, so to speak, from their fatherland. At any rate Scipio was criticized in Rome because, when he entertained his friends at the dedication of the temple of Hercules, he did not include his colleague Mummius : for even if in general the two men did not consider themselves friends, on such occasions they usually thought it proper to show honour and friendliness to each other on account of their office. Inasmuch, therefore, as the omission of so slight an act of courtesy brought a reputation for haughtiness to Scipio, a man in other respects admirable, how can anyone be considered honourable and fair-minded who detracts from the dignity of a colleague in office, or maliciously flouts him by actions which reveal ambitious rivalry, or is so self-willed that he arrogates and annexes to himself everything, in short, at the expense of his colleague? I recollect that when I was still a young man I was sent with another as envoy to

<sup>a</sup> Apparently a quotation from a comedy. See Kock, Com. Att. Frag. iii. p. 495.

(816) ἀπολειφθέντος δέ πως ἐκείνου, μόνον ἐντυχόντα καὶ διαπραξάμενον ὡς οδυ ἔμελλον ἐπανελθών ἀποπρεσβεύειν, ἀναστὰς ὁ πατὴρ κατ ἰδίαν ἐκέλευσε μὴ λέγειν " ἀχόμην " ἀλλ " ἀχόμεθα," μηδ " εἶπου " ἀλλ " εἴπομεν," καὶ τἄλλα συνεφαπτόμενον ἀπαγγέλλειν. οὐ γὰρ

Ε μόνον ἐπιεικὲς τὸ τοιοῦτον καὶ φιλάνθρωπόν ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ λυποῦν τὸν φθόνον ἀφαιρεῖ τῆς δόξης. ὅθεν οἱ μεγάλοι καὶ δαίμονα καὶ τύχην τοῖς κατορθώμασι συνεπιγράφουσιν, ὡς Τιμολέων ὁ τὰς ἐν Σικελία καταλύσας τυραννίδας Αὐτοματίας ἱερὸν ἱδρύσατο· καὶ Πύθων ἐπὶ τῷ Κότυν ἀποκτεῦναι θαυμαζόμενος καὶ τιμώμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ᾿Αθηναίων "ὁ θεός," ἔφη, "ταῦτ' ἔπραξε, τὴν χεῖρα παρ' ἐμοῦ χρησάμενος." Θεόπομπος δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα σώζεσθαι τὴν Σπάρτην διὰ τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἀρχικοὺς ὅντας "μᾶλλον," ἔφη, "διὰ τοὺς πολλοὺς πειθαρχικοὺς ὅντας."

Ε 21. Γίγνεται μὲν οδυ δι ἀλλήλων ἀμφότερα ταῦτα. λέγουσι δ' οἱ πλεῖστοι καὶ νομίζουσι πολιτικῆς παιδείας ἔργον εἶναι τὸ καλῶς ἀρχομένους παρασχεῖν· καὶ γὰρ πλέον ἐστὶ τοῦ ἄρχοντος ἐν ἐκάστη πόλει τὸ ἀρχόμενον· καὶ χρόνον ἔκαστος ἄρχει βραχύν, ἄρχεται δὲ τὸν ἄπαντα χρόνον ἐν δημοκρατία πολιτευόμενος· ἄστε κάλλιστον εἶναι μάθημα καὶ χρησιμώτατον τὸ πειθαρχεῖν τοῖς ἡγουμένοις, κᾶν ὑποδεέστεροι δυνάμει καὶ δόξη τυγχάνωσιν ὅντες. ἄτοπον γάρ ἐστι τὸν μὲν ἐν τρα-

1 ἀναστάς] Bernardakis suggests παραστάς.

the proconsul; the other man was somehow left behind: I alone met the proconsul and accomplished the business. Now when I came back and was to make the report of our mission, my father left his seat and told me in private not to say "I went." but "we went." not "I said." but "we said." and in all other ways to associate my colleague in a joint report. For that sort of thing is not only honourable and kind, but it also takes the sting out of any envy of our reputation. And therefore great men ascribe to God and to Fortune a share in their successes. as Timoleon, who put down the tyrannies in Sicily, founded a sanctuary of Automatia (Chance); and Python, when he was admired and honoured by the Athenians for slaving Cotys, said "God did this. borrowing from me the hand that did the deed." And Theopompus, King of the Lacedaemonians. replied to the man who said that Sparta was preserved because the kings were fitted to rule, "No. it is rather because the people are fitted to obey."

21. Now both of these arise from each other. Most people say and believe that it is the business of political teaching to cause men to be good subjects; for, they say, the subject class is in every State larger than the ruling class; and each official rules but a short time, whereas he is ruled all the time, if he is a citizen of a democracy; so that it is a most excellent and useful thing to learn to obey those in authority, even if they happen to be deficient in power and reputation. For it is absurd that in a tragedy the chief actor, even though he is

νωδία πρωτανωνιστήν, Θεόδωρον ή Πώλον όντα μισθωτώ τὰ τρίτα λέγοντι πολλάκις έπεσθαι καὶ προσδιαλένεσθαι ταπεινώς, αν έκεινος ένη το διά-817 δημα καὶ τὸ σκῆπτρον ἐν δὲ πράξεσιν ἀληθιναῖς καὶ πολιτεία τον πλούσιον καὶ ένδοξον όλινωρείν καὶ καταφρονείν ἄρχοντος ιδιώτου καὶ πένητος, ένυβρίζοντα καὶ καθαιρούντα τῶ περὶ αύτον ἀξιώματι τὸ τῆς πόλεως, ἀλλὰ μὴ μᾶλλον αὔξοντα καὶ προστιθέντα την άφ' αύτοῦ δόξαν καὶ δύναμιν τῆ καθάπερ έν Σπάρτη τοῖς ἐθόροις οἴ τε βασιλεῖς ὑπεξανίσταντο, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὁ κληθεὶς ού βάδην ύπήκουεν άλλὰ δρόμω καὶ σπουδή δι' αγορας θέοντες επεδείκνυντο την ευπείθειαν τοις πολίταις, ἀγαλλόμενοι τῷ τιμᾶν τοὺς ἄρχοντας. Β ούχ ωσπερ ένιοι των απειροκάλων και σολοίκων. οξον ίσχύος έαυτών καλλωπίζόμενοι περιουσία, βραβευτάς έν άνωσι προπηλακίζουσι καὶ χορηγούς έν Διονυσίοις λοιδοροῦσι καὶ στρατηγών καὶ γυμνασιάρνων κατανελώσιν, οὐκ είδότες οὐδὲ μανθάνοντες ότι τοῦ τιμᾶσθαι τὸ τιμᾶν πολλάκις ἐστὶν ένδοξότερον. ἀνδρί γὰρ ἐν πόλει δυναμένω μέγα μείζονα φέρει κόσμον άρχων δορυφορούμενος ύπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ προπεμπόμενος ἢ δορυφορῶν καὶ προπέμπων μαλλον δε τοῦτο μεν ἀηδίαν καὶ φθόνον,

<sup>3</sup> αὐτὸν Bernardakis: αὐτὸν.

Madvig erroneously proposed to read μισθωτόν τῷ for the μισθωτῶ of the MSS.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> καθαιροῦντα] συγκαθαιροῦντα Reiske.

<sup>4</sup> ἀφ' αὐτοῦ Bernardakis: ἀπ' αὐτοῦ.

δ γυμνασιάρχων Bernardakis: γυμνασιαρχών.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Theodorus and Polus were famous actors at Athens in the fourth century B.C. See J. B. O'Connor, Chapters in the 254

a Theodorus or a Polus, a often makes his entrance after a hireling who takes third-class parts and addresses him in humble fashion, just because the latter wears the diadem and sceptre, but that in real affairs and in government the rich and famous man belittles and despises the official who is plebeian and poor, thereby using his own high standing to insult and destroy that of the State, instead of enhancing it rather and adding to the office the esteem and power derived from himself. So at Sparta the kings gave precedence to the ephors, and if any other Spartan was summoned, he did not walk slowly in obeving the summons, but by running eagerly at full speed through the market-place they exhibited to their fellow-citizens their spirit of obedience, rejoicing in paying honour to their rulers. They did not behave like some uncultured and unmannerly persons who, as if swaggering in the excess of their own power, abuse the umpires at the games, revile the choregi at the Dionysiac festival, and jeer at generals and gymnasiarchs, not knowing and not understanding that it is often more glorious to pay, honour than to receive it. For to a man who has great power in the State greater distinction accrues through serving in the bodyguard and the escort of an official than through being so served and escorted by him, or rather the latter brings him dislike and

Ilistory of Actors and Acting in Ancient Greece, pp. 100, 128. The terms τραγωδός and κωμωδός were used for actors who had been assigned to the highest rank and were privileged to bring out old plays at the festivals, and they stand in sharp contrast to the "hireling" actors, usually referred to after Demosthenes' time as "tritagonists," to whom were often given the "third-class" roles of kings; see ibid. chap. i.

(817) ἐκεῖνο δὲ τὴν ἀληθινὴν φέρει, τὴν ἀπ' εὐνοίας, Ο δόξαν· ὀφθεὶς δ' ἐπὶ θύραις ποτὲ καὶ πρότερος ἀσπασάμενος καὶ λαβών ἐν περιπάτω μέσον, οὐδὰς ἀφαιρούμενος ἑαυτοῦ, τῆ πόλει κόσμον περιτίθησι. 22. Δημοτικὸν δὲ καὶ βλασφημίαν ἐνεγκεῖν καὶ ὀργὴν ἄργοντος ἢ τὸ τοῦ Διομόδους ὑπειπόντα

τούτω μεν γάρ κῦδος ἄμ' ἔψεται

η τό τοῦ Δημοσθένους, ὅτι νῦν οὐκ ἔστι Δημοσθένης μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ θεσμοθέτης η χορηγὸς η στεφανηφόρος. ἀναθετέον οῦν την ἄμυναν εἰς τὸν χρόνου τὶ η γὰρ ἐπέξιμεν ἀπαλλαγέντι τῆς ἀρχῆς η κερδανοῦμεν ἐν τῷ περιμένειν τὸ παύσασθαι τῆς ὀργῆς.

28. Σπουδή μέντοι καὶ προνοία περὶ τὰ κοινὰ καὶ φροντίδι πρὸς ἄπασαν ἀρχὴν ἀεὶ διαμιλλητέον, ἄν μὲν ιδια χαρίεντες, αὐτὸν ὑφηγούμενον ἃ δεῖ καὶ φράζοντα καὶ διάδντα χρῆσθαι τοῦς βεβουλευμένοις ὀρθῶς καὶ τὸ κοινὸν εὐδοκιμεῖν ἀφελοῦντας³ ἐὰν δ' ἐνῆ τις ἐκείνοις ὅκνος ἢ μέλλησις ἢ κακοήθεια πρὸς τὴν πρᾶξυ, οὕτω χρὴ παρεῖναι καὶ λέγειν αὐτὸν εἰς τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ μὴ παραμελεῖν μηδ ὑφὶεσθαι τῶν κοινῶν, ὡς οὐ προσῆκον, ἄρχοντος ἐπέρου, πολυ-

1 Before χρόνον Reiske adds οἰκεῖον.
2 ἀφελοῦντας Mittelhaus: ἀφελοῦντα.

Homer, 11. iv. 415.

Their chief duty was supervision of the courts of law.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Cf. Life of Cicero, chap. ii., "Cicero placed in their midst, as a mark of honour," Perrin's translation, L.C.L.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>e</sup> Demosthenes, xxi. (Against Meidias) 524. Meidias had insulted Demosthenes in public when Demosthenes was choregus, officially appointed to bear the expense of a chorus. <sup>d</sup> The thesmothetae were the six junior archons at Athens.

envy, but the former brings true reputation, that which comes from goodwill; and by being seen sometimes at the official's door, by greeting him first, and by putting him in the middle place a in walking a man adds lustre to the State without taking anything from himself.

22. And it is also a service to the people sometimes to endure the evil speech and anger of a man in office, repeating to oneself either the words of

Diomedes:

For unto him will accrue mighty glory,<sup>b</sup>

or the saying of Demosthenes, that now he is not only Demosthenes, but also one of the thesmothetae, or a choregus, or the wearer of a crown. We should, therefore, put off our requital to the right time; for then either we shall attack him after his term of office is ended or in the delay our gain will be the cessation of anger.

23. One should, however, always vie with every official in zeal, forethought for the common good, and wisdom; if they are worthy men, by voluntarily suggesting and pointing out the things to be done and allowing them to make use of well-considered ideas and to be held in high esteem because they are benefactors of the community. But if there is in them any reluctance, delay, or ill-will as to putting feet, then a man ought to and address the people, and he should not neglect or slight the public interests on the ground that because someone else is in office

The stephanephori were officials whose duties varied in different cities. At Athens they were concerned with public festivals.

πρανμονείν και παραδιοικείν. δ γάρ νόμος ἀεὶ τῶ Ε τὰ δίκαια πράσσοντι καὶ γιγνώσκοντι τὰ συμφέρουτα την πρώτην τάξιν έν τη πολιτεία δίδωσιν. φερονία την πρωτην τας σε τη ποιατεικά οισσον. " ην δέ τις," φησίν, " εν τῷ στραπεύματι Ξενοφῶν, οὔτε στρατηγός οὔτε λοχαγός," ἀλλὰ τῷ φρονεῖν τὰ δέοντα και τολμάν αυτόν είς το άρχειν καταστήσας διέσωσε τους "Ελληνας, και τῶν Φιλοποίμενος έρνων επιφανέστατόν εστι τό, τοῦ Νάβιδος Μεσσήνην καταλαβόντος οὐκ ἐθέλοντος δὲ τοῦ στρατηνοῦ τῶν 'Αγαιῶν βοηθεῖν ἀλλ' ἀποδειλιῶντος. αύτον δρμήσαντα μετά των προθυμοτάτων ἄνευ δόγματος έξελέσθαι την πόλιν. οὐ μην διά μικρά Ε δεί και τὰ τυνόντα καινοτομείν, άλλ' ἐπὶ τοίς άνανκαίοις ώς ο Φιλοποίμην, ή τοῦς καλοῦς ώς Επαμεινώνδας, επιβαλών τέτταρας μήνας τη βοιωταργία παρά τον νομον, έν οίς είς την Λακωνικήν ένέβαλε και τὰ περί Μεσσήνην ἔπραξεν ὅπως, κὰν άπαντα τις έπὶ τούτω κατηγορία καὶ μέμψις, άπο-

24. Ἰάσονος τοῦ Θεσσαλών μονάρχου γνώμην άπομνημονεύουσιν, εφ' οίς εβιάζετο και παρ-818 ηνώχλει τινάς, ἀεὶ λεγομένην, ὡς ἀναγκαῖον ἀδικεῖν τὰ μικρά τους βουλομένους τὰ μεγάλα δικαιοπραγείν. τοῦτον μεν οὖν ἄν τις εὐθὺς καταμάθοι τον λόνον ώς έστι δυναστευτικός έκεινο δε πολιτι-

λονίαν της αιτίας την ανάγκην έχωμεν ή παραμυθίαν τοῦ κινδύνου τὸ μέγεθος τῆς πράξεως καὶ

The Bocotarchy was the chief office of the Bocotian confederacy. Its term was one year.

το κάλλος.

<sup>1</sup> τοῦ Νάβιδος Meziriacus: ἄγιδος τοῦ αὔιδος οτ ἄγιδος.

<sup>&</sup>quot; The author of the Anabasis. But Plutarch may have b Xenophon, Anab. iii. 1. 4. written φησίν αὐτός.

it is not proper for him to meddle and mix in the administration of affairs. For the law always gives the first rank in the government to him who does what is right and recognizes what is advantageous. "Now there was," says he, " in the army a man named Xenophon, neither a general nor a captain." b but by perceiving what was needed and daring to do it he put himself in command and saved the Greeks. And of Philopoemen's deeds the most brilliant is this, that when Nabis had taken Messene, and the general of the Achaeans was so cowardly that he would not go to the assistance of the place, he himself with the most eager patriots set out and took the city without any decree of the council. Certainly it is well to make innovations, not for the sake of small or casual matters, but in cases of necessity. as Philopoemen did, or for glorious causes, as Epameinondas did when contrary to the law he added four months to the Boeotarchy, in which time he invaded Laconia and carried out his measures at Messenê d: so that if any accusation or blame be brought against us on this account we may have necessity as our defence against the charge, or the greatness and glory of the action as a consolation for the risk.

24. A saying of Jason, monarch of the Thessalians, is recorded, which he always used to repeat whenever he was taking violent and annoying measures against individuals: "It is inevitable that those should act unjustly in small matters who wish to act justly in great matters." That is recognized at once as the saying of a despot; but this is a more

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>d</sup> These measures included the freeing of Messenia from Spartan domination and the founding of the city of Messene.

(818) κώτερον παράγγελμα, τὸ τὰ μικρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς προῖεσθαι χαριζόμενον ἐπὶ τῷ τοῖς μείζοσιν ἐνἱστασθαι καὶ κωλύειν ἐξαμαρτάνοντας. ὁ γὰρ αδ περὶ πάντα λίαν ἀκριβής καὶ σφοδρός, οὐδὲν ὑποχωρῶν οὐδὶ ὑπείκων ἀλλὰ τραχὺς ἀεὶ καὶ ἀπαραίτητος, ἀντιφιλονεικεῖν τὸν δῆμον αὐτῷ καὶ προσδυσκολαίνειν ἐθίζει,

μικρόν δὲ δεῖ¹ ποδὸς χαλάσαι μεγάλη κύματος ἀλκῆ, Β τὰ μὲν αὐτὸν ἐνδιδόντα καὶ συμπαίζοντα κεχαρι-

σμένως οἶον ἐν θυσίαις καὶ ἀγῶσι καὶ θεάτροις, τὰ δ' ὥσπερ ἐν οἰκία νέων ἀμαρτήματα προσποιούμενον παρορᾶν καὶ παρακούειν, ὅπως ἡ τοῦ νουθετεῖν καὶ παρρησιάζεσθαι δύναμις ὥσπερ φαρμάκου μὴ κατακεχρημένη μηδ' ἔωλος ἀλλ' ἀκμὴν ἔχουσα καὶ πίστιν ἐν τοῖς μείζοσι μᾶλλον καθάπτηται καὶ δάκνη τοὺς πολλούς. ᾿Αλέξανδρος μὲν γὰρ ἀκούσας τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἐγνωκέναι τινὰ τῶν C καλῶν καὶ νέων οὐκ ἡγανάκτησεν εἰπών, ὅτι κἀκείνη τι δοτέον ἀπολαῦσαι τῆς βασιλείας: οὐκ ὀρθῶς τὰ τοιαῦτα συγχωρῶν οὐδ' ἀξίως ἐαυτοῦ δεῖ γὰρ ἀρχῆς τὴν κατάλυσιν καὶ ὕβριν ἀπόλαυσιν μὴ νομίζειν. δήμω δ' ὕβριν μὲν οὐδεμίαν εἰς πολίτας οὐδὲ δήμευσιν ἀλλοτρίων οὐδὲ κοινῶν

<sup>1</sup> δὲ δεῖ Nauck; δέον Bernardakis: δὲ.

Nauck, Trag. Graec. Frag. p. 918, no. 413.

statesmanlike precept: "Win the favour of the people by giving way in small things in order that in greater matters you may opp and thus prevent them from

For a man who is always very exact and strenuous about everything, not giving way or yielding at all, but always harsh and inexorable, gets the people into the habit of opposing him and being out of temper with him:

> But he should let the sheet Run out a bit before the waves' great force,<sup>a</sup>

sometimes by giving way and relative with them himself, as at saand spectacles in the theatre, tending not to see or hear their errors, just as we treat the errors of the young people in a family, in order that the force of his rebukes and outspoken criticism-like that of a medicine-may not become exhausted or stale, but may in matters of greater importance, retaining its full strength and its credit, take a stronger hold upon the people and sting them into obedience. Alexander, for example, when he heard that his sister had had intercourse with a handsome young man, did not burst into a rage, but merely remarked that she also ought to be allowed to get some enjoyment out of her royal station. In making such concessions he did not act rightly or in a manner worthy of himself; for rone and outrageous conduct as mere enjoyment. But to

the people the statesman will, so far as is possible, permit no outrageous conduct towards the citizens, no confiscation of others' property, nor distribution

(818) διανέμησιν ο πολιτικός έφήσει κατὰ δύναμιν, ἀλλὰ πείθων καὶ διδάσκων καὶ δεδιττόμενος διαμαχεῖται ταῖς τοιαύταις ἐπιθυμίαις, οἴας οἱ περὶ Κλέωνα βόσκοντες καὶ αὕξοντες πολύν, ὥς φησιν ὁ Πλάτων, κηφῆνα τῆ πόλει κεκεντρωμένον ἐνεποίησαν. ἐνλοδό ἐορτὴν πάτριον οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ θεοῦ τιμὴν πρόφασιν λαβόντες ὅρμήσωσι πρός τινα θέαν ἢ νέμησιν ἐλαφρὰν ἢ χάριν τινὰ φιλάνθρωπον ἢ φιλοτιμίαν,

D ἔστω πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα ἡ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἄμα καὶ τῆς εὐπορίας ἀπόλαυσις αὐτοῖς. καὶ γὰρ τοῖς Περικλέους πολιτεύμασι καὶ τοῖς Δημητρίου πολλὰ τοιαῦτ ἔ ἔνεστι, καὶ Κίμων ἐκόσμησε τὴν ἀγορὰν πλατάνων φυτείαις καὶ περιπάτοις: Κάτων δὲ τὸν δῆμον ὑπὸ Καίσαρος ὁρῶν ἐν τοῖς περὶ Κατιλίναν διαταρασσόμενον καὶ πρὸς μεταβολὴν τῆς πολιτείας ἐπισφαλῶς ἔχοντα συνέπεισε τὴν βουλὴν ψηφίσασθαι νεμήσεις τοῖς πένησι, καὶ τοῦτο δοθὲν ἔστησε τὸν θόρυβον καὶ κατέπαυσε τὴν ἐπανάστασιν. ὡς γὰρ ἰατρός, ἀφελῶν πολὺ τοῦ Ε διεφθορότος αἰματος, ὀλίγον ἀβλαβοῦς τροφῆς προσήνεγκεν, οῦτως ὁ πολιτικὸς ἀνήρ, μέγα τι τῶν ἀδόξων ἢ βλαβερῶν παρελόμενος, ἐλαφρᾶ πάλιν χάριτι καὶ φιλαυθρώπω τὸ δυσκολαΐνον

καὶ μεμψιμοιροῦν παρηγόρησεν.

25. Οὐ χείρον δὲ καί μετάγειν ἐπ' ἄλλα χρειώδη τὸ σπουδαζόμενον, ὡς ἐποίησε Δημάδης, ὅτε τὰς προσόδους εἰχεν ὑφ' ἐαυτῷ τῆς πόλεως ὡρμημένων γὰρ ἐκπέμπειν τριήρεις βοηθούς τοῖς ἀφισταμένοις Αλεξάνδρου καὶ χρήματα κελευόττων παρέχειν ἐκεῖνον, "ἔστιν ὑμῖν," ἔφη, "χρήματα παρ-

a Plato, Republic, 552 c, D.

of public funds, but by persuasion, arguments, and threats he will oppose to the bitter end desires of that sort, by nourishing and increasing which Cleon and his partizans produced in the State, as Plato says,a a swarm of drones with stings. But if the people, taking an ancestral festival or the worship of some god as a pretext, are bent upon some public spectacle or a slight distribution of funds, or a gift for the general good or some lavish show prompted by private ambition, for such purposes let them reap the benefit both of their generosity and of their prosperity. Why, among the public acts of Pericles and of Demetrius are many of that sort, and Cimon beautified the market-place by planting plane-trees and laying out walks. And Cato, seeing that the people was being greatly stirred up by Caesar in the affair of Catiline and was dangerously inclined towards a revolution, persuaded the senate to vote a dole to the poor, and the giving of this halted the disturbance and ended the uprising. For just as a physician, after drawing off a great deal of infected blood, supplies a little harmless nourishment, so the statesman, after doing away with something big which was discreditable or harmful, appeases the spirit of discontent and fault-finding by some slight and kindly act of favour.

25. It is also expedient to divert the people's interest to other useful things, as Demades did when he had the revenues of the State in his charge; for when the people were eager to send out triremes to aid those who were in revolt against Alexander, and were urging him to furnish funds, "You have," he said, "funds available, for I have made preparations

b In 330 s.c. King Agis of Sparta headed the revolt.

εσκευασάμην γὰρ εἰς τοὺς χόας, ὤσθ' ἔκαστον ὑμῶν λαβεῖν ἡμιμναῖον· εἰ δ' εἰς ταῦτα βούλεσθε F μάλλον, αὐτοί καταχρήσθε τοῖς ἰδίοις." καὶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον, ὅπως μὴ στεροῖντο τῆς διανομῆς, αφέντων τον απόστολον, έλυσε το προς 'Αλέξανδρον ένκλημα τοῦ δήμου. πολλά γάρ ἀπ' εὐθείας οὐκ έστιν έξωσαι των άλυσιτελών, άλλά δεί τινος άμωσγέπως καμπής και περιαγωγής, οια 819 Φωκίων έχρητο κελευόμενος είς Βοιωτίαν εμβαλείν παρά καιρόν εκήρυξε γάρ εὐθὺς ἀκολουθεῖν ἀφ' ήβης τους μέχρι ετων έξηκοντα και θορύβου των πρεσβυτέρων γενομένου "τί δεινόν; " είπεν " ένω γάρ ο στρατηγός ογδοήκοντα γεγονώς έτη μεθ' ύμων έσομαι.'' τούτω δη τώ τρόπω καὶ πρεσβείας διακοπτέον ἀκαίρους, συγκαταλέγοντα πολλούς τῶν άνεπιτηδείως εχόντων, καὶ κατασκευάς άχρήστους, κελεύοντα συνεισφέρειν, καὶ δίκας καὶ ἀποδημίας<sup>1</sup> άπρεπείς, άξιούντα συμπαρείναι καὶ συναποδημείν. πρώτους δὲ τοὺς γράφοντας τὰ τοιαῦτα Β καὶ παροξύνοντας έλκειν δεῖ καὶ παραλαμβάνειν. η γάρ άναδυόμενοι την πράξιν αὐτοὶ διαλύειν δόξουσιν η μεθέξουσι των δυσχερών παρόντες. 26. "Οπου μέντοι μέγα δεῖ τι περανθήναι καὶ

χρήσιμον ἀγώνος δὲ πολλοῦ καὶ σπουδῆς δεόμενον, ἐνταῦθα πειρῶ τῶν φίλων αἰρεῖσθαι τοὺς κρατί-

¹ δίκας καὶ ἀποδημίας Xylander's translation; ἀποδημίας Coraes: δίκας.

<sup>2</sup> άπρεπεῖς άτερπεῖς Coraes.

δεῖ τι Bernardakis: δεῖ.

The second day of the Anthesteria, a three-day festival in worship of Dionysus, held in early spring at Athens.
b Of, Life of Photion, chap, xxiv.

for the Pitcher Festival a so that each of you is to receive a half-mina, but if you had rather apply the funds to this other purpose, use your own money for the festival." And in this way, since they gave up the expedition in order not to lose the distribution of money, he removed any ground of complaint on Alexander's part against the people of Athens. For there are many unprofitable measures which the statesman cannot avert by direct means, but he must use some sort of roundabout and circuitous methods, such as Phocion employed when ordered at an inopportune time to invade Boeotia. He immediately issued a proclamation b calling all those from the age of military service up to sixty years to join the ranks, and when the older men made a violent protest, he said: "What is there terrible about it? For I, your general, who am eighty years So in this way we should old, shall be with you." prevent inopportune embassies by listing among the envoys many who are not qualified to go, and useless construction by calling for contributions, and improper lawsuits and missions abroad by ordering the parties to appear in court together and together to go abroad on the missions. And those who propose such measures and incite the people to adopt them should be the first to be haled into court and made to take the responsibility for putting them into effect; for so they will either draw back and appear to be themselves nullifying the measure or they will stick to it and share its unpleasant features.

26. When, however, something important and useful but requiring much conflict and serious effort is to be accomplished, then try to select from among your friends those who are most powerful, or from

(819) στους ἢ τῶν κρατίστων τοὺς πραοτάτους: ἦκιστα γαρ αντιπράξουσιν οδτοι και μάλιστα συνεργήσουσι, το φρονείν άνευ του φιλονεικείν έχοντες. ου μήν άλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἐαυτοῦ φύσεως ἔμπειρον ὅντα δεῖ πρός δ χείρων έτέρου πέφυκας αξρείσθαι τους C μάλλον δυναμένους άντι των όμοίων, ώς ὁ Διομήδης έπι την κατασκοπην μεθ' έαυτοῦ τον φρόνιμον είλετο, τους ανδρείους παρελθών. καὶ γὰρ αί πράξεις μαλλον ισορροποῦσι και τὸ φιλόνεικον οὐκ έγγίγνεται πρὸς ἀλλήλους τοῖς ἀφ' ἐτέρων ἀρετῶν καὶ δυνάμεων φιλοτιμουμένοις. λάμβανε δή καὶ δίκης συνεργόν καὶ πρεσβείας κοινωνόν, ἂν λέγειν δυνατός ής, τον ρητορικόν, ώς Πελοπίδας Έπαμεινώνδαν καν ής απίθανος πρός δμιλίαν τῷ πλήθει καὶ ὑψηλός, ὡς Καλλικρατίδας, τον εὔχαριν καὶ θεραπευτικόν κἂν ἀσθενής καὶ δύσεργος τὸ σώμα, τὸν φιλόπονον καὶ ρωμαλέον, ὡς Νικίας D Λάμαχον. ούτω γὰρ ἂν¹ ἦν ὁ Γηρυόνης ζηλωτὸς έγων σκέλη πολλά και χείρας και όφθαλμούς, εί πάντα μιᾶ ψυχῆ διώκει. τοῖς δὲ πολιτικοῖς έξεστι μη σώματα μηδέ χρήματα μόνον, άλλα καί τύχας καὶ δυνάμεις καὶ άρετάς, ἂν όμονοῶσιν, εἰς μίαν χρείαν συντιθέντας εὐδοκιμεῖν μᾶλλον ἄλλου<sup>2</sup> περί τὴν αὐτὴν πρᾶξιν οὐχ ὥσπερ οἱ ᾿Αργοναῦται τον Ἡρακλέα καταλιπόντες ήναγκάζοντο διὰ τῆς γυναικωνίτιδος καταδόμενοι καί φαρμακευόμενοι σώζειν έαυτούς καὶ κλέπτειν τὸ νάκος.

γὰρ ἄν Wyttenbach: γὰρ.
 μᾶλλον ἄλλου] μᾶλλον ἀπ' ἄλλου Bernardakis; μᾶλλον ἢ χωρὶς ἄλλου Capps; ἄλλον ἀπ' ἄλλου Kronenberg.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. Homer, Il. x. 243. He chose Odysseus.

among the most powerful those who are easiest to get along with; for they are least likely to act against you and most likely to work with you, since they possess wisdom without contentiousness. And, moreover, you should know your own nature and choose for any purpose for which you are naturally less fitted than others, men who are more able rather than men like yourself, as Diomedes chose to go with him on the scouting expedition the man of prudence and passed over the men of courage.4 For actions are thus more equally balanced, and contention does not arise among men whose ambitions proceed from different virtues and abilities. So, if you are not a good speaker, take an orator as your assistant in a lawsuit or your colleague in an took Epameinondas; and if, are too lofty of speech and not persuasive in addressing the masses, choose a man who is winning in his speech and conciliatory; and if you are physically weak and incapable of hard work, choose a man who is fond of labour and strong, as Nicias chose Lamachus. For on this principle Geryon would have been enviable for having many legs, arms, and eyes. if he had directed them all by one mind. But statesmen, by uniting for one purpose not only men's persons and funds, but also their fortunes, abilities, and virtues, if they are in agreement, can gain greater reputation in connexion with the same action "he the Argonauts, were forced to work through the women's quarters b and use magic and drugs to save themselves and steal the golden

fleece.

This refers to Jason's seduction of Medea.

Ε Χρυσὸν μὲν εἰς ἔνια τῶν ἱερῶν εἰσιόντες ἔξω καταλείπουσι, σίδηρον δ' ὡς ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν εἰς οὐδὲν συνεισφέρουσιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ κοινόν ἐστιν ἱερὸν τὸ βῆμα Βουλαίου τε Διὸς καὶ Πολιέως καὶ Θέμιδος καὶ Δίκης, αὐτόθεν μὲν ἤδη φιλοπλουτίαν καὶ φιλοχρηματίαν, ὥσπερ σίδηρον μεστὸν ἰοῦ καὶ νόσημα τῆς ψυχῆς, ἀποδυσάμενος εἰς ἀγορὰς καπήλων ἢ δανειστῶν ἀπόρριψον,

## αὐτὸς δ' ἀπονόσφι τραπέσθαι

τὸν ἀπὸ δημοσίων χρηματιζόμενον ἡγούμενος ἀφ΄ ἱερῶν κλέπτειν, ἀπὸ τάφων, ἀπὸ φίλων, ἐκ προδοσίας, ἀπὸ ψευδομαρτυρίας, σύμβουλον ἄπιστον εἶναι, δικαστὴν ἐπίορκον, ἄρχοντα δωροδόκον, οὐδεμιᾶς ἀπλῶς καθαρὸν ἀδικίας. ὅθεν οὐ δεῦ πολλὰ

Ε περί τούτων λέγειν.

97. 'Η δὲ φιλοτιμία, καίπερ οὖσα σοβαρωτέρα τῆς φιλοκερδείας, οὖκ ἐλάττονας ἔχει κῆρας ἐν πολιτεία καὶ γὰρ τὸ τολμᾶν αὐτῆ πρόσεστι μᾶλλου ἐμφύεται γὰρ οὐκ ἀργαῖς οὐδὲ ταπειναῖ ἀλλ' ἐρρω μέναις μάλιστα καὶ νεανικαῖς προαιρέσεσι, καὶ τὸ παρὰ τῶν ὄχλων ρόθιον πολλάκις συνεξαῖρον αὐτὴν 820 καὶ συνεξωῦρον αὐτὴν ποιεῖ

820 καὶ συνεξωθοῦν τοῖς ἐπαίνοις ακατασχετον ποιει καὶ δυσμεταχείριστον. ὧσπερ οδν ὁ Πλάπνα ἀκουστέον εἶναι τοῖς νέοις ἔλεγεν ἐκ παίδων εὐθύς, ώς οὔτε περικεῖσθαι χρυσὸν αὐτοῖς ἔξωθεν οὔτε κεκτῆσθαι θέμις, οἰκεῖον ἐν τῆ ψυχῆ συμμεμιγμένον ἔχοντας, αἰνιττόμενος οἷμαι τὴν ἐκ γένους διατείνουσαν εἰς τὰς φύσεις αὐτῶν ἄρετήν οὔτω παρατείνουσαν εἰς τὰς φύσεις αὐτῶν ἄρετήν οὔτω παρα-

Cf. Plato, Republic, 609 A.
 Ilomer, Od. v. 350.
 Plato, Republic, 416 E.

When entering some sanctuaries men leave their gold outside; but iron, one may say, they do not at all carry into any sanctuary. And since the orators' platform is a sanctuary common to Zeus the Counsellor and the Protector of Cities, to Themis and to Justice, do you strip off all love of wealth and of money, as you would iron full of rust and a disease of the soul, cast them straightway at the beginning into the market-place of hucksters and money-lenders,

and turning your back depart from them,

believing that a man who makes money out of public funds is stealing from sanctuaries, from tombs, from his friends, through treason and by false testimony, that he is an untrustworthy adviser, a perjured judge, a venal magistrate, in brief not free from any kind of iniquity. And therefore there is no need of saying much about these evils.

27. But ambition, although it is a more pretentious word than "covetousness," is no less pernicious in the State; for there is more daring in it;
since it is innate, not in slothful and abject spirits,
but in the most vigorous and impetuous, and the
surge which comes from the masses, raising it on
the crest of the wave and sweeping it along by shouts
of praise, often makes it unrestrained and unmanageable. Therefore, just as Plato said that young
people should be told from childhood that it is not
proper for them to wear gold on their persons or to
possess it, since they have a gold of their own
mingled in their souls,—a figurative reference, I
believe, to the virtue derived by descent, which
permeates their natures,—so let us moderate our

(820) μυθώμεθα την φιλοτιμίαν, λέγοντες έν έαυτοῖς έχειν χρυσον αδιάφθορον και ακήρατον και άχραντον υπό φθόνου καὶ μώμου τιμήν, αμα¹ λογισμῷ καὶ παραθεωρήσει των πεπραγμένων ήμιν και πεπολιτευμέ-Β νων αθξανόμενον διό μη δεῖσθαι γραφομένων τιμών η πλαττομένων η χαλκοτυπουμένων, έν αίς καὶ τὸ εὐδοκιμοῦν ἀλλότριόν ἐστιν ἐπαινεῖται γὰρ οὐχ ὧ γέγονεν άλλ' ύφ' οῦ γέγονεν ώς ὁ σαλπικτής καὶ ό δορυφόρος. ό δε Κάτων, ήδη τότε της 'Ρώμης καταπιμπλαμένης ανδριάντων, οὐκ ἐων αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι "μᾶλλον," ἔφη, " βούλομαι πυνθάνεσθαί τινας, διά τί μου άνδριάς οὐ κείται η διά τί κείται." καὶ γαρ φθόνον έχει τα τοιαθτα και νομίζουσιν οι πολλοί τοις μή λαβούσιν αὐτοί χάριν ὀφείλειν, τους δὲ λαβόντας αὐτοῖς<sup>3</sup> καὶ βαρεῖς εἶναι, οἶον ἐπὶ μισθώ C τας χρείας απαιτούντας. ωσπερ οθν ο παραπλεύσας την Σύρτιν είτ' άνατραπείς περί τον πορθμον οὐδεν μέγα πεποίηκεν οὐδε σεμνόν, οὕτως ο τὸ ταμιείον φυλαξάμενος καὶ τὸ δημοσιώνιον άλους δὲ περί την προεδρίαν η το πρυτανείον, ύψηλω μεν προσέπταικεν ακρωτηρίω βαπτίζεται δ' δμοίως. άριστος μέν οδν δ μηδενός δεόμενος των τοιούτων άλλα φεύγων καὶ παραιτούμενος αν δ' ή μη ράδιον D δήμου τινὰ χάριν ἀπώσασθαι καὶ φιλοφροσύνην πρός τοῦτο ρυέντος, ώσπερ οὐκ ἀργυρίτην οὐδὲ δωρίτην αγώνα πολιτείας αγωνιζομένοις αλλ' ίερον ώς

<sup>1</sup> τιμήν, ἄμα] τίμημα Hartman.
2 σαλπικτής Bernardakis: σαλπιγκτής.
3 αύτοις Madvig: αὐτοις.

<sup>4</sup> µèv added by Reiske.

ambition, saving that we have in ourselves bonour. a gold uncorrupted, undefiled, and unpolluted by reases along with reasoning of our acts and public measures. Therefore we have no need of honours painted, modelled, or cast in bronze, in which even that which is admired is really the work of another; for the person who receives praise is not the man for whom the "trumpeter" or the "doryphorus," a for example, was made, but the man by whom it was made. Cato, Rome being even then full of portrait statues, refused to let one be made of himself, saving, "I prefer to have people ask why there is not a statue of me rather than why there is one." Such honours do indeed arouse envy. and the people think that they are themselves under obligations to men who have not received them, but that those who have received them are oppressors of the people, as men who demand payment for their services. Therefore, just as a man who has sailed past the Syrtis and is then capsized at the channel has done nothing so very great or glorious, so the man who has watched over the treasury and the public revenue, but is then found wanting in the presidency or the prytany, is indeed dashed against a lofty promontory, but gets a ducking all the same. No, that man is the best who wants no such things and even avoids and refuses them when offered. But if it is not easy to reject some favour or some kindly sentiment of the people, when it is so inclined, for men engaged in a political struggle for which the prize is not money or gifts, but which is

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Two famous statues. The doryphorus (spear-bearer) was by Polycleitus.

. 0) άληθως καὶ στεφανίτην, ἐπιγραφή τις ἀρκεῖ καὶ πινάκιον καὶ ψήφισμα καὶ θαλλός, ώς Ἐπιμενίδης έλαβεν έξ ἀκροπόλεως καθήρας την πόλιν. 'Αναξανόρας δε τάς διδομένας άφεις τιμάς ήτήσατο την ήμέραν ἐκείνην, καθ' ην αν τελευτήση, τους παίδας άφιέναι παίζειν καὶ σχολάζειν ἀπὸ τῶν μαθημάτων. τοις δε τους Μάγους άνελουσιν έπτα Πέρσαις έδωκαν αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἀπ' αὐτῶν γενομένοις εἰς τοὔμπροσθεν της κεφαλης την τιάραν φορειν τοῦτο Ε γάρ ἐποιήσαντο σύμβολον, ώς ἔοικε, χωροῦντες έπι την πράξιν. έχει δέ τι και ή του Πιττακού τιμή πολιτικόν· ής γαρ έκτήσατο χώρας τοις πολίταις γην όσην έθέλοι λαβεῖν κελευσθεὶς έλαβε τοσαύτην, δσην ἐπῆλθε τὸ ἀκόντιον αὐτοῦ βαλόντος. ό δὲ 'Ρωμαΐος Κόκλης," ὅσην ἡμέρα μιᾶ χωλὸς ὢν περιήροσεν. οὐ γὰρ μισθὸν είναι δεῖ τῆς πράξεως άλλα σύμβολον την τιμήν, ΐνα καὶ διαμένη πολύν χρόνον, ώσπερ έκειναι διέμειναν. των δέ Δημητρίου τοῦ Φαληρέως τριακοσίων ἀνδριάντων οὐδείς F ἔσχεν ιὸν οὐδὲ πίνον, άλλὰ πάντες ἔτι ζῶντος προανηρέθησαν· τούς δέ Δημάδου κατεχώνευσαν είς άμίδας καὶ πολλαὶ τοιαθτα τιμαὶ πεπόνθασιν οὐ μοχθηρία τοῦ λαβόντος μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ μεγέθει τοῦ δοθέντος δυσχερανθείσαι. διὸ κάλλιστον καὶ βεβαιότατον εὐτέλεια τιμής φυλακτήριον, αί δὲ μεγά-

3 Κοκλης Codex Basileensis: πόπλιος.

δσην Wyttenbach: η̂ν.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> τῆς κεφαλῆς] τὰ σκέλη συνάπτοντας τῆ κεφαλῆ Bernardakis with no indication of ms. authority.

<sup>2</sup> φορείν Wyttenbach and others: φέρειν.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> The prizes at the Olympic, Pythian, Isthmian, and Nemean games were crowns of wild olive, laurel, pine, and parsley respectively.

a truly sacred contest worthy of a crown, a mere inscription suffices, a tablet, a decree, or a green branch such as Epimenides b received from the Acropolis after purifying the city. And Anaxagoras, giving up the honours which had been granted him, requested that on the day of his death the children be allowed to play and be free from their lessons. And to the seven Persians who killed the magi the privilege was granted that they and their descendants should wear their headdress tilted forward over the forehead; for they made this, so it appears, their secret sign when they undertook their act. And there is something that indicates public spirit, too, about the honour received by Pittacus; for, when he was told to take as much as he wished of the land which he had gained for the citizens, he took only as much as he could throw a jayelin over. Roman Cocles received as much as he-and he was lame-could plough around in one day. honour should not be payment for the action, but a symbol, that it may last for a long time, as those just mentioned have lasted. But of all the three hundred statues of Demetrius of Phalerum not one acquired rust or dirt; they were all destroyed while he was still living; and those of Demades were melted down into chamber-pots. Things like that have happened to many honours, they having become offensive, not only because the recipient was worthless, but also because the gift bestowed was too great. And therefore the best and surest way to ensure the duration of honours is to reduce their

b Epimenides of Crete was called in by the Athenians, apparently not far from 500 s.c., to purify the city of a pestilence.

λαι καὶ ὑπέρογκοι καὶ βάρος ἔγουσαι παραπλησίως τοις ἀσυμμέτροις ἀνδριασι ταχύ περιτρέπονται.

28. 'Ονομάζω δὲ νῦν τιμάς, ἃς οἱ πολλοὶ κατ' η θέμις οὐ<sup>1</sup> καλέουσι, νόμω δ' ἐπίφημι καὶ αὐτός·

\*Εμπεδοκλέα

έπεὶ τήν ν' ἀληθινὴν τιμὴν καὶ χάριν ίδρυμένην ἐν εύνοία καὶ διαθέσει των μεμνημένων ούν ύπερ-821 όψεται πολιτικός ἀνήρ, οὐδέ γε δόξαν ἀτιμάσει φεύνων τὸ " τοις πέλας άνδάνειν," ώς ηξίου Δημόκρυτος, οὐδὲ γὰρ κυνῶν ἀσπασμὸς οὐδ' ἴππων εύνοια θποαταίς καὶ ἱπποτρόφοις ἀπόβλητον, ἀλλὰ καὶ χρήσιμον καὶ ήδὺ συντρόφοις καὶ συνήθεσι ζώοις τοιαύτην ένεργάσασθαι διάθεσιν πρός αύτόν, οΐαν ό Λυσιμάνου κύων ἐπεδείκνυτο καὶ τῶν 'Αγιλλέως ίππων δ ποιητής διηγείται περί τον Πάτροκλον οίμαι δ' αν και τας μελίττας απαλλάττειν βέλτιον, Β εί τους τρέφοντας και θεραπεύοντας ασπάζεσθαι και προσίεσθαι μαλλον ή κεντείν και χαλεπαίνειν έβούλοντο νυνί δέ ταύτας μέν καπνώ κολάζουσιν, ίππους δ' ύβριστας και κύνας αποστάτας κλοιοίς καί χαλινοις άγουσιν ήναγκασμένους άνθρωπον δ' άνθρώπω χειροήθη καὶ πρᾶον έκουσίως οὐδέν άλλ' η πίστις εὐνοίας καὶ καλοκαγαθίας δόξα καὶ δικαιοσύνης παρίστησιν. ή καί Δημοσθένης όρθως μέγιστον αποφαίνεται πρός τούς τυράννους φυλακτήριον απιστίαν ταις πόλεσι· τοῦτο γὰρ μάλιστα της ψυχης το μέρος, ῷ πιστεύομεν, ἁλώσιμόν ἐστιν. 1 ή θέμις οὐ Meziriacus : ή θέμις.

<sup>4</sup> Mullach, Frag. Phil. Graec. i. p. 3, 112.

b Quoted with slightly different wording by Plutarch, Moralia, 1113 B.

cost but those which are great and top-heavy and weighty are, like ill-proportioned statues, quickly overturned.

28. And I now give the name "honours" to those which the multitude, to quote Empedocles, a

Do not call as is right; and I, too, myself follow custom.

For the statesman will not despise the true honour and favour founded upon the goodwill and disposition of those who remember his actions, nor will he disdain reputation and bours," as Democritus 6 the greeting of dogs nor the affection of horses is to be spurned by huntsmen and horse-trainers, but it is both advantageous and pleasant to instil into animals which are brought up with us and live with us such a disposition towards us as was exhibited by the dog of Lysimachus and as the poet tells us that Achilles' horses felt towards Patroclus d And I believe even bees would come off better if they would only welcome and placate their keepers and attendants instead of stinging them and making them angry. But as it is, people punish bees with smoke and lead unruly horses and runaway dogs by force of bits and dog-collar : 1 a man willingly tractable and .. an except trust in his goodwill and belief in his nobility and justice. And 'a declaring that the therefore D greatest s · against tyrants is distrust; for that part of the soul with which we trust is most easily taken captive. Therefore just as

Mullach, Frag. Phil. Graec. i. p. 355.
 Homer, Il. xix. 404 ff.

- (821) ὥσπερ οὖν τῆς Κασάνδρας ἀδοξούσης ἀνόνητος ἦν ἡ μαντική τοῖς πολίταις
  - " ἄκραντα γάρ με" φησίν " ἔθηκε θεσπίζειν θεός,
  - C καὶ πρὸς παθόντων κἀν κακοῖσι κειμένων σοφὴ κέκλημαι, πρὶν παθεῖν δέ 'μαίνομαι,'"

ούτως ή πρός 'Αρχύταν πίστις καὶ πρός Βάττον εὐνοια τῶν πολιτῶν μεγάλα τοὺς χρωμένους αὐτοῖς
διὰ τὴν δόξαν ἀφέλησε. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν πρῶτον
καὶ μέγιστον ἔνεστι τῆ δόξη τῆ τῶν πολιτικῶν
ἀγαθόν, ἡ πάροδον ἐπὶ τὰς πράξεις διδοῦσα πίστις:
δεύτερον δ' ὅτι πρὸς τοὺς βασκάνους καὶ πονηροὺς
ὅπλον ἡ παρὰ τῶν πολλῶν εὔνοια τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς
ἐστιν

ώς ὅτε μήτηρ παιδὸς ἐέργει μυῖαν, ὅθ᾽ ἡδέι λέξεται ὕπνῳ,

ἀπερύκουσα τὸν φθόνον καὶ πρὸς τὰς δυνάμεις ἐπανισοῦσα τὸν ἀγεννῆ τοῖς εὐπατρίδαις καὶ τὸν πένητα τοῖς πλουσίοις καὶ τὸν ἰδιώτην τοῖς ἄρχουσι: D καὶ ὅλως, ὅταν ἀλήθεια καὶ ἀρετὴ προσγένηται, φορόν ἐστι πνεῦμα καὶ βέβαιον ἐπὶ τὴν πολιτείαν. σκόπει δὲ τὴν ἐναντίαν καταμανθάνων διάθεσιν ἐν τοῖς παραδείγμασι. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ Διονυσίου παίδας καὶ τὴν γυναίκα καταπορνεύσαντες οἱ περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀνεῖλον, εἶτα καύσαντες τὰ σώματα τὴν τέφραν κατέσπειραν ἐκ πλοίου κατὰ τῆς θαλάττης.

Nauck, Trag. Graec. Frag. p. 919, no. 414. From an unknown play.

b Archytas of Tarentum was a statesman, Pythagorean philosopher, and mathematician. He was seven times 276

Cassandra's prophetic power was useless to the citizens because she was held in no esteem, "For God," she says,

"has made me prophesy in vain, And those who suffer or have suffered woes Have called me 'wise'; but ore they suffer, 'mad,'"a

so the trust which the citizens reposed in Archytas b and their goodwill towards Battus b was, on account of their reputation, of great advantage to those who made use of them. The first and most important advantage inherent in the reputation of statesmen is this: the trust in them which affords them an entrance into public affairs; and the second is that the goodwill of the multitude is a weapon of defence for the good against the slanderous and wicked,

as when a mother Wards off a fly from her child when he lieth asleep in sweet slumber.<sup>4</sup>

keeping off envy and in the matter of power making the low-born equal to the nobles, the poor to the rich, and the private citizen to the office-holders; and in short, when truth and virtue are added to it, such goodwill is a steady fair wind wafting a man into political office. Now consider the contrary disposition and learn of it by examples. For the men of Italy violated the daughters and the wife of Dionysius, killed them, and then burned their bodies and scattered the ashes from a boat over the sea. But when general and never defeated. He lived in the fourth century ac. and was a friend of Plato.

Dionysius II. of Syracuse; of Life of Timoleon, chap. xiii., and Aelian, Var. Hist. vi. 12.

Μενάνδρου δέ τινος έν Βάκτροις έπιεικῶς βασι-Ε λεύσαντος εἶτ' ἀποθανόντος ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου, τὴν μέν ἄλλην ἐποιήσαντο κηδείαν κατά τὸ κοινὸν αί πόλεις, περί δε των λειψάνων αὐτοῦ καταστάντες είς άγωνα μόλις συνέβησαν, ώστε νειμάμενοι μέρος ίσον τῆς τέφρας ἀπελθεῖν, καὶ γενέσθαι μνημεῖα παρὰ πᾶσι τοῦ ἀνδρός. αὖθις δ'¹ 'Ακραγαντῖνοι μὲν απαλλαγέντες Φαλάριδος έψηφίσαντο μηδένα φορεῖν ίμάτιον γλαύκινον οί γὰρ ὑπηρέται τοῦ τυράννου γλαυκίνοις έχρωντο περιζώμασι. Πέρσαι δ', ὅτι F γρυπός ήν ό Κύρος, έτι και νύν έρωσι των γρυπών καὶ καλλίστους ὑπολαμβάνουσιν.

29. Ούτως άπάντων ἐρώτων ἰσχυρότατος ἄμα και θειότατός έστιν ο πόλεσι και δήμοις προς ένα δι' άρετην εγγιγνόμενος αί δ' άπο θεάτρων η νεμήσεων η μονομάχων ψευδώνυμοι τιμαί καὶ ψευδομάρτυρες έταιρικαίς ἐοίκασι κολακείαις, ὄγλων άει τῷ διδόντι και χαριζομένω προσμειδιώντων, έφήμερόν τινα καὶ ἀβέβαιον δόξαν. εθ μεν οθν δ πρώτος<sup>2</sup> εἰπὼν καταλυθήναι δήμον ύπὸ τοῦ πρώτου δεκάσαντος συνείδεν, ότι την ισχύν αποβάλλουσιν 822 οἱ πολλοὶ τοῦ λαμβάνειν ήττονες γενόμενοι δεῖ δε και τους δεκάζοντας οιεσθαι καταλύειν εαυτούς,

όταν ἀναλωμάτων μεγάλων ἀνούμενοι τὴν δόξαν ίσχυρούς ποιώσι καὶ θρασεῖς τούς πολλούς, ώς μέγα τι καὶ δοῦναι καὶ ἀφελέσθαι κυρίους ὅντας.

30. Οὐ μὴν διὰ τοῦτο μικρολογητέον ἐν τοῖς νενομισμένοις φιλοτιμήμασι, των πραγμάτων εὐ-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> αῦθις δ' Bernardakis: αὖθις. <sup>2</sup> πρώτος] πρώτως Duebner.

a certain man named Menander, who had been a good king of the Bactrians, died in camp, the cities celebrated his funeral as usual in other respects, but in respect to his remains they put forth rival claims and only with difficulty came to terms, agreeing that they should divide the ashes equally and go away and should erect monuments to him in all their cities. But, on the other hand, the Agrigentines, when they had got rid of Phalaris, decreed that no one should wear a grey cloak; for the tyrant's servants had worn grey garments. But the Persians, because Cyrus was hook-nosed, even to this day love hook-nosed men and consider them the most handsome.

29. So of all kinds of love that which is engendered in states and peoples for an individual because of his virtue is at once the strongest and the most divine; but those falsely named and falsely attested honours which are derived from giving theatrical performances, making distributions of money, or offering gladiatorial shows, are like harlots' flatteries, since the masses always smile upon him who gives to them and does them favours, granting him an ephemeral and uncertain reputation. And so he who first said that the people was ruined by the first man who bought its favour was well aware that the multitude loses its strength when it succumbs to bribe-taking; but those also who give such bribes should bear in mind that they are destroying themselves when they purchase reputation by great expenditures, thus making the multitude strong and bold in the thought that they have power to give and take away something important.

30. We ought not, however, on this account to be niggardly as to the customary public contributions,

(822) πορίαν παρεχόντων· ώς μᾶλλον οἱ πολλοὶ μὴ μεταδιδόντα τῶν ἰδίων πλούσιον ἢ πένητα τῶν δημοσίων κλέπτοντα δι' ἔχθους ἔχουσιν, ὑπεροψίαν τοῦτο καὶ περιφρόνησιν αὐτῶν¹ ἐκεῖνο δ' ἀνάγκην

Β ἡγούμενοι. γιγνέσθωσαν οὖν αἱ μεταδόσεις πρῶτον μὲν ἀντὶ μηδενός· οὕτω γὰρ ἐκπλήττουσι καὶ χειροῦνται μᾶλλον τοὺς λαμβάνοντας· ἔπειτα σὺν καιρῷ πρόφασιν ἀστείαν καὶ καλὴν ἔχοντι, μετὰ τιμῆς θεοῦ πάντας ἀγούσης πρὸς εὐσέβειαν· ἐγγίγνεται γὰρ ἄμα τοῖς πολλοῖς ἰσχυρὰ διάθεσις καὶ δόξα τοῦ τὸ δαιμόνιον εἶναι μέγα καὶ σεμνόν, ὅταν, οὖς αὐτοὶ τιμῶσι καὶ μεγάλους νομίζουσαν, οὕτως ἀφειδως καὶ προθύμως περὶ τὸ θεῖον ὁρῶσι φιλοτιμουμένους. ὤσπερ οὖν ὁ Πλάταν ἀφείλε τῶν παι-

Ο δευομένων νέων την άρμονίαν την Λύδιον καὶ την ἰαστί, την μὲν τὸ θρηνῶδες καὶ φιλοπενθὲς ήμῶν ἐγείρουσαν τῆς ψυχῆς, την δὲ τὸ πρὸς ήδονὰς όλισθηρὸν καὶ ἀκόλαστον αὕξουσαν οῦτω σὰ τῶν φιλοτιμῶν ὅσαι τὸ φονικὸν καὶ θηριῶδες ἢ τὸ βωμολόχον καὶ ἀκόλαστον ἐρεθίζουσι καὶ τρέφουσι, μάλιστα μὲν ἐξέλαυνε τῆς πόλεως, εἰ δὲ μή, φεῦγε καὶ διαμάχου τοῖς πολλοῖς αἰτουμένοις τὰ τοιαῦτα θεάματα χρηστὰς δὲ καὶ σώφρονας ἀεὶ ποιοῦ τῶν ἀναλωμάτων ὑποθέσεις, τὸ καλὸν ἢ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον ἐχούσας τέλος ἢ τὸ γοῦν ἡδὺ καὶ κεχαρισμένον ἄνευ βλάβης καὶ ὕβρεως προσούσης.

D 31. "Αν δ' ή τὰ τῆς οὐσίας μέτρια καὶ κέντρω

<sup>1</sup> αὐτῶν Bernardakis: αὐτῶν.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Plato, Republic, 398 E.

if we are in prosperous circumstances; since the masses are more hostile to a rich man who does not give them a share of his private possessions than to a poor man who steals from the public funds, for they think the former's conduct is due to arrogance and contempt of them, but the latter's to necessity. First, then, let the gifts be made without bargaining for anything; for so they surprise and overcome the recipients more completely; and secondly they should be given on some occasion which offers a good and excellent pretext, one which is connected with the worship of a god and leads the people to piety; for at the same time there springs up in the minds of the masses a strong disposition to believe that the deity is great and majestic, when they see the men whom they themselves honour and regard as great so liberally and zealously vying with each other in honouring the divinity. Therefore, just as Plato a withheld the Lydian and the Ionian musical modes from the education of the young, because the one arouses that part of the soul which is inclined towards mourning and grief and the other strengthens that part which readily slips into pleasures and grows wanton, so you must, if possible, remove from the State all those free exhibitions which excite and nourish the murderous and brutal or the scurrilous and licentious spirit, or if you cannot do that, avoid them and oppose the multitude when they demand them. But always make the objects of your expenditures useful and moderate, having as their purpose either what is good or what is necessary, or at any rate what is pleasant and agreeable without anything harmful or outrageous in it.

31. But if your property is moderate and in re-

(822) καὶ διαστήματι περιγραφόμενα πρὸς τὴν γρείαν. ούτ άνευνες ούτε ταπεινόν ολδέν έστι πενίαν όμολογούντα ταις των έγόντων έξίστασθαι φιλοτιμίαις. καὶ μὴ δανειζόμενον οἰκτρον αμα καὶ κατανέλαστον είναι περί τὰς λειτουργίας οὐ γὰρ λανθάνουσιν έξασθενοῦντες ἢ φίλοις ἐνοχλοῦντες ἢ θωπεύοντες δανειστάς, ὥστε μὴ δόξαν αὐτοῖς μηδ' ἰσχὺν ἀλλὰ μάλλον αἰσχύνην καὶ καταφρόνησιν ἀπὸ τῶν τοιού-Ε των αναλωμάτων υπάρχειν. διο χρήσιμον αεί προς τὸ τοιαθτα μεμνησθαί τοῦ Λαμάγου καὶ τοῦ Φωκίωνος οδτος μεν νάρ, αξιούντων αὐτον εν θυσία των 'Αθηναίων ἐπιδοῦναι καὶ κροτούντων πολλάκις " αλογυνοίμην ἄν" είπεν " ύμιν μεν επιδιδούς Καλλικλεί δε τούτω μη αποδιδούς," δείξας τον δανειστήν. Λάμαχος δ' έν τοις της στρατηγίας άεὶ προσέγραφεν ἀπολογισμοῖς ἀργύριον εἰς κρηπῖδας αὐτῶ καὶ ἱμάτιον "Ερμωνι δὲ Θεσσαλοὶ φεύνοντι την άργην ύπο πενίας εψηφίσαντο λάγυνον οίνου κατά μηνα διδόναι καὶ μέδιμνον άλφίτων άφ' έκάστης τετράδος. οῦτως οὕτ' ά-Ε γεννές έστι πενίαν όμολογείν, οὖτε λείπονται πρός δύναμιν έν πόλεσι τῶν ἐστιώντων καὶ χορηγούντων οί πένητες, αν παρρησίαν απ' αρετής και πίστιν έχωσι. δεί δη μάλιστα κρατείν έαυτών έν τοίς τοιούτοις καὶ μήτ' εἰς πεδία καταβαίνειν πεζόν

<sup>·</sup> Lamachus was an Athenian general who was killed in

the battle at the Anopus near Syracuse in 414 B.C.

<sup>b</sup> Phocion was a famous Athenian general in the fourth century B.C. He was elected general forty-five times. He was virtual ruler of Athens when Antipater was in power, but in 318 B.C. was tried and executed by the Athenians, 982

lation to your needs strictly circumscribed "as by centre and radius," it is neither ignoble nor humilating at all to confess your poverty and to withdraw from among those who have the means for public expenditures, instead of borrowing money and making yourself at once a pitiful and a ridiculous object in the matter of your public contributions; for men

truckling to money-lenders

so that it is not reputation or power, but rather shame and contempt, which they acquire by such expenditures. And therefore it is always desirable in connexion with such things to remember Lamachus a and Phocion b; for the latter, when the Athenians at a sacrifice called upon him to contribute and repeatedly raised a clamour, said, "I should be ashamed if I gave you a contribution and did not pay Callicles here what I owe him," pointing to his money-lender. And Lamachus always, when he was general, entered in his accounts money for shoes and a cloak for himself. And when Hermon tried to avoid office on the plea of poverty, the Thessalians voted to give him a flask o of wine monthly and a measure d of meal every four days. So it is not ignoble to confess poverty, and poor men, if by reason of their virtue they enjoy freedom of speech and public confidence, have no less influence in their cities than those who give public entertainments and exhibitions. The statesman must, then, do his best to control himself in such matters and not go down Soon after that a public burial and a statue were decreed for him. The story told here is found also in the Moralia, р. 533 л.

About six pints.

About a bushel and a half.

ίππεῦσι μαχούμενον μήτ' ἐπὶ στάδια καὶ θυμέλας καὶ τραπέζας πένητα πλουσίοις ὑπὲρ δόξης καὶ δυναστείας διαγωνιζόμενον· ἀλλ' ἀπ' ἀρετῆς καὶ φρονήματος ἀεὶ μετὰ λόγου πειρωμένοις ἄγειν τὴν 823 πόλω, οἶς οὐ μόνον τὸ καλὸν καὶ τὸ σεμνὸν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ κεχαρισμένον καὶ ἀγωγὸν ἔνεστι "Κροισείων αἰρετώτερον στατήρων.' οὐ γὰρ αὐθάδης οὐδ' ἐπαχθης ὁ χρηστὸς οὐδ' αὐθέκαστός ἐστιν ὁ σώφρων ἀγὴρ καὶ

στείχει πολίταις όμμ' έχων ίδεῖν πικρόν,

άλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν εὐπροσήγορος καὶ κοινὸς ὢν πελάσαι καὶ προσελθεῖν ἄπασιν, οἰκίαν τε παρέχων ἄκλειστον ὡς λιμένα φύξιμον ἀεὶ τοῖς χρήζουσι, καὶ τὸ κηδεμονικὸν καὶ φιλάνθρωπον οὐ χρείαις οὐδὲ πράξεσι μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ συναλγεῖν πταίουσι Β καὶ κατορθοῦσι συγχαίρειν ἐπιδεικνύμενος· οὐδαμῆ δὲ λυπηρὸς οὐδὲ ἐνοχλῶν οἰκετῶν πλήθει περὶ λουτρὸν ἢ καταλήψεσι τόπων ἐν θεάτροις οὐδὲ τοῖς εἰς τρυφὴν καὶ πολυτέλειαν ἐπιφθόνοις παράσημος¹· ἀλλὶ ἴσος καὶ ὁμαλὸς ἐσθῆτι καὶ διαίτη καὶ τροφαῖς παίδων καὶ θεραπεία γυναικός, οἶον ὁμοδημεῖν καὶ συνανθρωπεῖν τοῖς πολλοῖς βουλόμενος. ἔπειτα σύμβουλον εὕνουν καὶ συνήγορον ἄμισθον καὶ διαλλακτὴν εὐμενῆ πρὸς γυναῖκας ἀνδρῶν καὶ φίλων πρὸς ἀλλήλους παρέχων ἐαυτόν, οὐ μικρὸν ἡμέρας

¹ παράσημος] Reiske suggests παρασήμοις, Bernardakis παρασήμων, Hartman ἐπίφθονος ἐπισήμοις.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Cf. Pollux, iii. 87, ix. 84, but, as Bernardakis suggests, Plutarch may have added the word for "more desirable," in which case there is here no real quotation.

into the plain on foot to fight with cavalry; if he is poor, he must not produce foot-races, theatrical shows, and banquets in competition with the rich for reputation and power, but he should vie with those who try always to lead the State on the strength of virtue and wisdom, combined with reason, for in such are found not only nobility and dignity but also the power to win and attract the people, a thing "more desirable than gold coins of Crocsus." a For the good man is neither presumptuous nor offensive, and the prudent man is not over-blunt in speech, nor does he

Walk with a mien his townsmen bitter find,b

but in the first place he is affable and generally accessible and approachable for all, keeping his house always unlocked as a harbour of refuge for those in need, and showing his solicitude and friendliness, not only by acts of service, but also by sharing the griefs of those who fail and the joys of those who succeed; and he is in no way disagreeable or offensive by reason of the number of the servants who attend him at the bath or by appropriating seats at the theatre, nor is he conspicuous for invidious exhibitions of luxury and extravagance; but he is on an equal level with others in his clothing and daily life, in the bringing up of his children and as regards the servants who wait upon his wife, as one who wishes to live like the masses and be friendly with them. And, moreover, he shows himself a kindly counsellor, an advocate who accepts no fee, and a kind-hearted conciliator when husbands are at variance with their wives or friends with one another. He spends no

Nauck, Trag. Grasc. Frag. p. 919, no. 415.

(823) μέρος ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ἢ τοῦ λογείου πολιτευόμενος, εἶτ' ἦδη πάντα τὸν ἄλλον βίον

ς ἔλκων ἐφ' αὐτὸν¹ ὥστε καικίας νέφη τὰς χρείας καὶ τὰς οἰκονομίας πανταχόθεν· ἀλλὰ δημοσιεύων ἀεὶ ταῖς φροντίσι, καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν

βίον καὶ πράξιν οὐκ ἀσγολίαν ώσπες οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ λειτουργίαν ήγούμενος, πάσι τούτοις καὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις επιστρέφει και προσάνεται τους πολλούς, νόθα καὶ κίβδηλα τὰ τῶν ἄλλων θωπεύματα καὶ δελεάσματα πρός την τούτου κηδεμονίαν καὶ φρόνησιν δρώντας. οί μεν γάρ Δημητρίου κόλακες ούκ ηξίουν βασιλείς τους άλλους προσαγορεύειν, άλλα τον μεν Σέλευκον έλεφαντάρχην τον δε Λυ-D σίμαχον γαζοφύλακα τον δε Πτολεμαĵον ναύαρχον έκάλουν, τον δ' 'Αγαθοκλέα νησιάρχην οι δέ πολλοί, καν έν άρχη τον άγαθον και φρόνιμον άπορρίψωσιν, υστερον καταμανθάνοντες την άλήθειαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ ἦθος τοῦτον ἡγοῦνται μόνον πολιτικόν καὶ δημοτικόν καὶ ἄρχοντα, τῶν δ' ἄλλων τον μέν χορηγον τον δ' έστιατορα τον δέ γυμνασίαργον καὶ νομίζουσι καὶ καλοῦσιν. εἶθ' ώσπερ ἐν τοις συμποσίοις, Καλλίου δαπανώντος ή 'Αλκι-Βιάδου, Σωκράτης ἀκούεται καὶ πρὸς Σωκράτην

Επάντες ἀποβλέπουσιν, οὕτως ἐν ταῖς ὑγιαινούσαις πόλεσιν Ἰσμηνίας μὲν ἐπιδίδωσι καὶ δειπνίζει Λίχας καὶ χορηγεῖ Νικήρατος, Ἐπαμεινώνδας δὲ καὶ ᾿Αριστείδης καὶ Λύσανδρος καὶ ἄρχουσι καὶ

<sup>1</sup> αύτον Meziriacus: έαυτον.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Nauck, Trag. Graec. Frag. p. 853, no. 75; Kock, Com. Att. Frag. iii. p. 612, no. 1229. Plutarch, Moralia, 88 g, 286

small part of the day engaged in the public business on the orators' platform of the senate or the assembly, and thenceforth all the rest of his life he

Drows to himself as north-east wind draws clouds a services and commissions from every quarter. But since he is always devoting his thoughts to the public weal and regards public office as his life and his work, not, like most people, as an interruption to leisure and a compulsory expense,-by all these and similar qualities he turns and attracts the people towards himself, for they see that the flatteries and enticements of others are spurious and counterfeit when compared with his care and forethought. The flatterers of Demetrius would not address the other monarchs as kings, but called Seleucus "Ruler of Elephants" and Lysimachus "Guardian of the Treasure" and Ptolemy "Admiral of the Fleet" and Agathocles "Lord of the Isles"; but the multitude, even if at first they reject the good and wise man, afterwards, when they have become acquainted with his truthfulness and his character. consider him alone a statesmanlike, public-spirited man and a ruler, whereas they consider and call the others, one a provider of choruses, one a giver of banquets, and one a director of athletics. Then, hust as at banquets, though Callias or Alcibiades pay the bill, it is Socrates to whom they listen, and Socrates on whom all eyes are turned, so in States in which the conditions are sound Ismenias makes contributions, Lichas gives dinners, and Niceratus provides choruses, but it is Epameinondas, Aristeides, and Lysander who are the rulers, public uses the same simile, and this line is quoted as a proverb by Aristotle, Meteor. 364 b 13.

287

πολιτεύονται καὶ στρατηγοῦσι. πρὸς ἃ χρη βλέποντα μή ταπεινουσθαι μηδ' έκπεπληχθαι την έκ θεάτρων καὶ όπτανείων καὶ πολυανδρίων προσισταμένην τοις όχλοις δόξαν, ώς όλίγον χρόνον έπιζώσαν και τοις μονομάχοις και ταις σκηναις όμοῦ συνδιαλυομένην, ἔντιμον δὲ μηδὲν μηδὲ

σεμνόν ἔγουσαν.

F 32. Οί μεν οὖν ἔμπειροι θεραπείας καὶ τροφῆς μελιττών τον μάλιστα βομβούντα τών σίμβλων καὶ θορύβου μεστόν τοῦτον εὐθηνεῖν καὶ ὑγιαίνειν νομίζουσιν & δε τοῦ λογικοῦ καὶ πολιτικοί σμήνους επιμέλειαν έχειν ο θεός έδωκεν, ήσυχία μάλιστα καὶ πραότητι δήμου τεκμαιρόμενος εὐδαιμονίαν τὰ μὲν ἄλλα τοῦ Σόλωνος ἀποδέξεται καὶ μιμήσεται κατά δύναμιν, απορήσει δὲ καὶ θαυμάσει τί παθών έκείνος ο άνηρ έγραψεν άτιμον είναι τον

824 εν στάσει πόλεως μηδετέροις προσθέμενον. οὔτε γάρ σώματι νοσοῦντι γίγνεται μεταβολῆς άρχη πρός τὸ ύγιαίνειν ἀπὸ τῶν συννοσούντων μερῶν, ἀλλ' όταν ή παρά τοις έρρωμένοις ισχύσασα κράσις έκστήση το παρά φύσιν έν τε δήμω στασιάσαντι μη δεινήν μηδ' ολέθριον στάσιν άλλά παυσομένην ποτέ δει τὸ ἀπαθές καὶ τὸ ὑγιαινον ἐγκεκρασθαι πολύ και παραμένειν και συνοικείν έπιρρεί γάρ τούτω το οἰκεῖον ἐκ τῶν σωφρονούντων καὶ δίεισι διὰ τοῦ νενοσηκότος αἱ δὲ δι' ὅλων ἀναταραχθεῖσαι πόλεις κομιδή διεφθάρησαν, αν μή τινος ανάγκης Β έξωθεν τυχούσαι καὶ κολάσεως ύπὸ κακῶν βία

σωφρονήσωσιν. οὐ μὴν ἀναίσθητον οὐδ' ἀνάλγητον

men, and generals. So, observing these things, we must not be humiliated or overwhelmed by the reputation with the masses gained from theatres, kitchens, and assembly-halls, remembering that it lasts but a short time and ends the minute the gladiatorial and dramatic shows are over, since there is nothing honourable or dignified in it.

32. Now those who are skilled in tending and keeping bees think that the hive which hums loudest and is most full of noise is thriving and in good condition; but he to whom God has given the care of the rational and political swarm will judge of its happiness chiefly by the quietness and tranquillity of the people; he will accept and imitate to the best of his ability the other precepts of Solon, but will wonder in great perplexity why that great man prescribed that in case of factional disorder whoever ioined neither faction should be deprived of civic rights. For in a body afflicted with disease the beginning of a change to health does not come from the diseased parts, but it comes when the condition in the healthy parts gains strength and drives out that which is contrary to nature; and in a people afflicted with faction, if it is not dangerous and destructive but is destined to cease sometime, there must be a strong, permanent, and permeating admixture of sanity and soundness: for to this element there flows from the men of understanding that which is akin to it, and then it permeates the part which is diseased: but States which have fallen into complete disorder are utterly ruined unless they meet with some external necessity and chastisement and are thus forcibly compelled by their misfortunes to be reasonable. Yet certainly it is not fitting in time

(824) έν στάσει καθησθαι προσήκει την περί αύτον άταραξίαν ύμνοῦντα καὶ τὸν ἀπράγμονα καὶ μακάριον βίον, εν επέροις επιπερπόμενον άγνωμονούσιν άλλ' ένταύθα δεί μάλιστα τον Θηραμένους κόθορνον ύποδούμενον αμφοτέροις δμιλεΐν καὶ μηδετέροις προστίθεσθαι δόξεις γάρ οὐχὶ τῶ μή συναδικεῖν άλλότριος άλλὰ τῷ βοηθεῖν κοινὸς είναι πάντων καὶ τὸ μὴ συνατυχεῖν οὐχ έξει φθόνον, αν πασι φαίνη συναλγών δμοίως. κρά-Ο τιστον δέ προνοείν όπως μηδέποτε στασιάζωσι, καὶ τοῦτο τῆς πολιτικῆς ὥσπερ τέχνης μέγιστον ήνεισθαι και κάλλιστον. ὅρα γὰρ ὅτι τῶν μεγίστων άναθων ταις πόλεσιν, ειρήνης έλευθερίας εὐετηρίας εὐανδρίας όμονοίας, πρὸς μέν εἰρήνην ούδεν οι δήμοι των πολιτικών έν γε τω παρόντι γρόνω δέονται πέφευγε γὰρ ἐξ ἡμῶν καὶ ἡφάνισται πας μέν Ελλην πας δε βάρβαρος πόλεμος· έλευθερίας δ' όσον οι κρατούντες νέμουσι τοις δήμοις μέτεστι καὶ τὸ πλέον ἴσως οὐκ ἄμεινον εὐφορίαν δέ γης ἄφθονον εύμενη τε κρασιν ώρων και τίκτειν D γυναϊκας '' ἐοικότα τέκνα γονεῦσι '' καὶ¹ σωτηρίαν τοις γεννωμένοις εὐχόμενος ο γε σώφρων αἰτήσεται παρά θεών τοῖς έαυτοῦ πολίταις.

1 kal added by Reiske.

This refers to the doctrine held by the Epicurean and Sceptic Schools of philosophy that the perfect state is that of complete tranquillity.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>b</sup> Theramenes was prominent in the oligarchy at Athens in 411 n.c., but later turned against his former associates. In 404 n.c. he was elected one of the "Thirty Tyrants," but 290

of disorder to sit without feeling or grief, singing the praises of your own impassiveness and of the inactive and blessed life, and rejoicing in the follies of others; on the contrary, at such times you should by all means put on the buskin of Theramenes, conversing with both parties and joining neither; for you will appear to be, not an outsider by not joining in wrongdoing, but a common partisan of all by coming to their aid; and your not sharing in their misfortunes will not arouse envy, if it is plain that

arise among them and to regard this as the greatest and noblest function of what may be called the art of statesmanship. For observe that of the greatest blessings which States can enjoy,—peace, liberty, plenty, abundance of men, and concord,—so far as peace is concerned the peoples have no need of statesmanship at present; for all war, both Greck and foreign,<sup>6</sup> has been banished from among us and has disappeared; and of liberty the peoples have as great a share as our rulers grant them, and perhaps more would not be better for them; but bounteous productiveness of the soil, kindly tempering of the seasons, that wives may bear "children like to their sires," <sup>a</sup> and that the offspring may live in safety—these things the wise man will ask the gods in his prayers to grant his fellow-citizens.

tried to restrain his colleagues and was put to death by them. He was nicknamed Cothurnus because the buskin could be worn on either foot, as he was a member of each party in turn (cf. "turncoat"). Aristotle, Constitution of Athens, 28. 5, praises him as a partiot.

For the phrase of. Thucydides, ii. 364.

d Hesiod, Works and Days, 233.

Λείπεται δη τῷ πολιτικῷ μόνον ἐκ τῶν ὑποκειμένων έργων, ο μηδενός έλαττόν έστι των άναθών, διώνοιαν εμποιείν και φιλίαν άει τοίς συνοικούσιν, έριδας δέ και δινοφοραύνας και δυσμένειαν έξαιρείν απασαν, ώσπερ διαφοραίς, το μάλλον οιόμενον άδικεισθαι μέρος έξομιλούντα πρότερον και συναδικείσθαι δοκούντα καὶ συνανανακτείν, είθ' ούτως επινειρούντα πραύνειν καὶ διδάσκειν ότι των βιάζεσθαι καὶ νικαν Ε έριζόντων οἱ παρέντες οὐκ ἐπιεικεία καὶ ἤθει μόνον άλλά καὶ Φρονήματι καὶ μενέθει ψυνής διαφέρουσι, καὶ μικρον ὑφιέμενοι νικώσιν ἐν τοῖς καλλίστοις καὶ μενίστοις έπειτα καὶ καθ' ένα καὶ κοινή διδάσκοντα καὶ φράζοντα την των Ελληνικών πραγμάτων ἀσθένειαν, ης εν ἀπολαῦσαι<sup>8</sup> ἄμεινόν έστι τοις εθ φρονούσι, μεθ' ήσυχίας και όμονοίας καταβιώναι, μηδέν έν μέσω της τύνης άθλου ύπολελοιπυίας. τίς γαρ ήγεμονία, τίς δόξα τοῖς περιγενομένοις; ποία δύναμις, ην μικρον άνθυπάτου Ε διάταγμα κατέλυσεν η μετέστησεν είς άλλον, οὐδὲν ούδ' αν παραμένη σπουδής αξιον έχουσαν; έπει δέ, ωσπερ εμπρησιώς οὐ πολλάκις έκ τόπων ίερων άρχεται καὶ δημοσίων, ἀλλὰ λύχνος τις ἐν οἰκία παραμεληθείς ή συρφετός διακαείς ανήκε φλόνα πολλήν καὶ δημοσίαν φθοράν ἀπεργασαμένην, οὕτως 825 οὐκ ἀεὶ στάσιν πόλεως αἱ περὶ τὰ κοινὰ φιλονεικίαι διακάουσιν. άλλά πολλάκις ἐκ πραγμάτων καὶ προσκρουμάτων ίδίων είς δημόσιον αί διαφοραί προελθούσαι συνετάραξαν απασαν την πόλιν οὐδενὸς

άμεινόν] μόνον Kronenberg.

<sup>1</sup> ἔργων] ἔργον Coraes. 2 παρέντες Xylander: παρόντες. Bernardakis prefers παριέντες. 3 ἕν ἀπολαῦσαι Madvig: ἐναπολαῦσαι,

There remains, then, for the statesman, of those activities which fall within his province, only thisand it is the equal of any of the other blessings :always to instil concord and friendship in those who dwell together with him and to remove strifes, discords, and all enmity. He will talk, as in the case of quarrels among friends, first with the persons who think they are the more aggrieved, and will appear to share their feeling of wrong and anger, then he will try in this way to mollify them and teach them that those who let wrongs go unheeded are superior to those who are quarrelsome and try to compel and overcome others, not only in reasonableness and character, but also in wisdom and greatness of spirit, and that by yielding in a small thing they gain their point in the best and most important matters. Then he will instruct his people both individually and collectively and will call attention to the weak condition of Greek affairs, in which it is best for wise men to accept one advantage-a life of harmony and quiet-since fortune has left us no prize open for competition. For what dominion, what glory is there for those who are victorious? What sort of power is it which a small edict of a transfer to another man and

nothing in it seriously worth while? But just as a conflagration does not often begin in sacred or public places, but some lamp left neglected in a house or some burnt rubbish causes a great flame and works public destruction, so disorder in a State is not always kindled by contentions about public matters, but frequently differences arising from private affairs and offences pass thence into public life and throw the whole State into con-

(825) ήττον τῷ πολιτικῷ προσήκει ταῦτ' ἰᾶσθαι καὶ προκαταλαμβάνειν, ὅπως τὰ μὲν οὐδ' ὅλως ἔσται τὰ δὲ παύσεται ταχέως, τὰ δ' οὐ λήψεται μέγεθος οὐδ' ἄψεται τῶν δημοσίων, ἀλλ' ἐν αὐτοῖς μενεῖ τοῖς διαφερομένοις, αὐτόν τε προσέχοντα καὶ φράζοντα τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὡς ἴδια κοινῶν καὶ μικρὰ μεγάλων αἴτια καθίσταται παροφθέντα καὶ μὴ Β τυχόντα θεραπείας ἐν ἀρχῆ μηδὲ παρηγορίας.

Οΐον ἐν Δελφοῖς ὁ μέγιστος λέγεται γενέσθαι νεωτερισμός ύπο Κράτητος, οδ μέλλων θυγατέρα γαμεῖν 'Ορσίλαος ὁ Φάλιδος, εἶτα, τοῦ κρατῆρος αὐτομάτως ἐπὶ ταῖς σπονδαῖς μέσου ῥαγέντος, οἰωνισάμενος καὶ καταλιπών τὴν νύμφην ἀπῆλθε μετά τοῦ πατρός ὁ δὲ Κράτης ολίγον ὕστερον θύουσιν αὐτοῖς ὑποβαλών χρυσίον τι τῶν ἱερῶν κατεκρήμνισε τον 'Ορσίλαον καὶ τον άδελφον άκρίτους, καὶ πάλιν των φίλων τινάς και οικείων ίκετεύοντας έν τῶ ἱερῷ τῆς Προναίας ἀνείλε πολλῶν δὲ τοιούτων γενομένων, αποκτείναντες οι Δελφοί τον Κράτητα C καὶ τοὺς συστασιάσαντας ἐκ τῶν χρημάτων ἐναγικών προσαγορευθέντων τούς κάτω ναούς άνωκοδόμησαν. ἐν δὲ Συρακούσαις δυεῖν νεανίσκων συνήθων ὁ μὲν τὸν ἐρώμενον τοῦ ἐτέρου λαβών φυλάσσειν διέφθειρεν ἀποδημοῦντος, δ δ' ἐκείνω πάλιν ωσπερ ανταποδιδούς υβριν έμοίχευσε την γυναϊκα των δέ πρεσβυτέρων τις είς βουλήν παρ-

<sup>1</sup> Προναίας Kaltwasser: προνοίας.

fusion. Therefore it behoves the statesman above all things to remedy or prevent these, that some of them may not arise at all and some may be quickly ended and others may not grow great and extend to public interests, but may remain merely among the persons who are at odds with one another. He should do this by noticing himse'r

to others that private troubles

of public ones and small troubles of great ones, if they are overlooked and do not in the beginning receive treatment or soothing counsel.

For example, at Delphi the greatest insurrection is said to have been caused by Crates, whose daughter was to be married to Orsilaüs, the son of Phalis; but then, when at the betrothal the

the middle of its own accord,

as an omen, left his bride, and went away with his father. But Crates a little later, secretly putting a sacred object of gold into their possession while thev sused Orsilaüs and his brother to be precipice without trial and later slew some of their friends and relatives when they were suppliants in the sanctuary of Athenabefore-the-Temple. But after many such things had taken place the Delphians put Crates and his fellow-partisans to death, and with their property, which had been declared accursed, they built the lower temples. And at Syracuse there were two young men, intimate friends, one of whom, being entrusted with his friend's beloved for safe-keeping. seduced him while the other was away; then the latter, as if to repay outrage with outrage, committed adultery with the offender's wife. Thereupon one of the elder men came forward in the senate and

(825) ελθών ἐκέλευσεν ἀμφοτέρους ἐλαύνειν, πρὶν ἀπολαῦσαι¹ καὶ ἀναπλησθήναι τὴν πόλιν ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῆς ἔχθρας· οὐ μὴν ἔπεισεν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τούτου στασιά-D σαντες ἐπὶ συμφοραῖς μεγάλαις τὴν ἀρίστην πολιτείαν ἀνέτρειψαν. ἔχεις δὲ δήπου καὶ αὐτὸς

πολιτείαν ανέτρεψαν. ἔχεις δὲ δήπου καὶ αὐτός οἰκεῖα παραδείγματα, τήν Παρδάλα³ πρός Τυρρηνόν ἔχθραν, ὡς ὀλίγον³ ἐδέησεν ἀνελεῖν τὰς Σάρδεις, ἐξ αἰτιῶν μικρῶν καὶ ἰδίων εἰς ἀπόστασιν

καὶ πόλεμον ἐμβαλοῦσα.

Διὸ χρη μη καταφρονείν τὸν πολιτικὸν ώσπερ ἐν σώματι προσκρουμάτων διαδρομάς δξείας έχόντων, άλλ' ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι καὶ πιέζειν καὶ βοηθείν. προσοχή γάρ, ως φησιν δ Κάτων, καὶ τὸ μένα γίγνεται μικρόν και το μικρόν είς το μηδέν ἄγεται. μηγανή δ' ἐπὶ ταῦτα πειθοῦς οὐκ ἔστι μείζων ἢ τὸ Ε παρέχειν έαυτον έν ταις ίδίαις διαφοραίς ημερον διαλλακτήν, αμήνιτον, έπὶ τῶν πρώτων αἰτιῶν μένοντα καὶ μηδενὶ προστιθέντα φιλονεικίαν μηδ' όργην μηδ' άλλο πάθος έμποιοῦν τραχύτητα καὶ πικρίαν τοις άναγκαίοις άμφισβητήμασι. των μέν γαρ εν ταις παλαίστραις διαμαχομένων επισφαίροις περιδέουσι τὰς χειρας, ὅπως εἰς ἀνήκεστον ἡ ἄμιλλα μηδεν εκπίπτη, μαλακήν έχουσα την πληγήν καί άλυπον έν δέ ταις κρίσεσι και ταις δίκαις πρός τούς πολίτας ἄμεινόν έστι καθαραῖς καὶ ψιλαῖς ταῖς αἰτίαις χρώμενον ἀγωνίζεσθαι, καὶ μὴ καθάπερ Γ βέλη τὰ πράγματα χαράσσοντα καὶ φαρμάσσοντα ταις βλασφημίαις και ταις κακοηθείαις και ταις άπειλαῖς ἀνήκεστα καὶ μεγάλα καὶ δημόσια ποιεῖν.

¹ ἀπολαῦσαι Coraes: ἀπολέσαι.
 ² Παρδάλα Bernardakis: παρδάλου οτ παρδάλαου.
 ³ ὀλίγου Benseler: ὀλίγου.

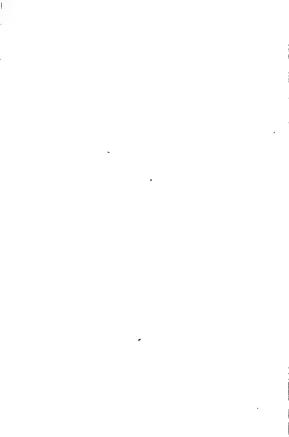
moved that both be banished before the State reap the result and be infected with enmity through them. His motion, however, was not carried, and from this beginning disorder arose which caused great disasters and overthrew the most excellent government. And indeed you yourself also no doubt have excellent examples at home in the enmity of Pardalas and Tyrrhenus, which came near to destroying Sardis by involving the State in rebellion and war as the result of petty private matters.

Therefore the statesman should not despise such offences as may, like diseases in a person, spread quickly, but he should take hold of them, suppress them, and cure them. For by attention, as Cato says, the great is made small and the small is reduced to nothing. And for this there is no more persuasive device than for the statesman to show himself in his private differences mild and conciliatory. persisting without anger in his original reasons for disagreement, and treating no one with contentiousness, anger, or any other passion which injects harsha ness and bitterness into unavoidable disputes. For we put soft gloves on the hands of those who compete in the boxing-school, that the contest may not have a fatal result, its blows being soft and not painful; and in law-suits against one's fellow-citizens it is better to treat the causes of disagreement pure and simple in one's pleading, and not, by sharpening and poisoning matters, as if they were darts or arrows, with bad words, malice, and threats, to make them incurable, great, and of public importance.

<sup>4</sup> προσκρουμάτων Bernardakls: προσκρουσμάτων.

(825) δ γὰρ οὕτω προσφερόμενος τοῖς καθ' αὐτὸν ὑπηκόους ἔξει καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους: αἱ δὲ περὶ τὰ δημόσια φιλοτιμίαι, τῶν ἰδίων ὑφαιρουμένων ἀπεχθειῶυ, εὐτελεῖς γίγνονται καὶ δυσχερὲς οὐδὲν οὐδ' ἀνήκεστον ἐπιφέρουσιν.

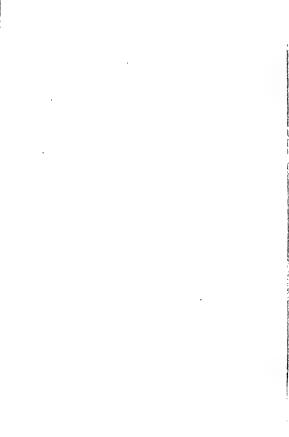
For a man who proceeds in this way towards those with whom he himself has to do will find that others also yield to him; and rivalries affecting public interests, if private enmitties are done away with, become of slight importance and do no serious or incurable harm.



# ON MONARCHY, DEMOCRACY,

AND OLIGARCHY

(DE UNIUS IN REPUBLICA DOMINATIONE, POPULARI STATU, ET PAUCORUM IMPERIO)



## INTRODUCTION

This essay is evidently only a fragment, as Wyttenbach long ago pointed out. The opening words indicate that the author delivers it as an address before an audience to which he has spoken on the day before, but nothing further is known about the circumstances. Few scholars now believe that the author is Plutarch, though who the writer was is not known. The substance of the fragment is derived chiefly from the Republic of Plato.

# ΠΕΡΙ ΜΟΝΑΡΧΊΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΔΗΜΟ-ΚΡΑΤΊΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΟΛΙΓΑΡΧΊΑΣ

 Εἰς¹ τοῦτο δὴ τὸ δικαστήριον καὶ αὐτὸς Β είσάγων την γενομένην μοι πρός ύμας διάλεξιν έχθές, ὤμην τῆς πολιτικῆς ἀρετῆς ὕπαρ οὐκ² ὄναρ άκοῦσαι λεγούσης

κεκρότηται χρυσέα κρηπίς ίεραισιν ἀοιδαις,

δ³ προτρεπόμενος καὶ διαίρων ἐπὶ πολιτείαν βέβληται λόγος: " εία τειχίζωμεν ήδη " την όφειλομένην ἐποικοδομοῦντες τῆ προτροπῆ διδασκαλίαν, οφείλεται δε τώ παραδεδεγμένω την έπι το πράττειν τὰ κοινὰ προτροπὴν καὶ δρμὴν έξης ἀκοῦσαι και λαβεῖν παραγγέλματα πολιτείας, οίς χρώμενος, C ως ανυστόν έστιν ανθρώπω, δημωφελής έσται, μετ' ασφαλείας αμα και τιμής δικαίας εδ τιθέμενος τὸ

οἰκεῖον. ὁ δὲ προύργου μέν ἐστιν εἰς τὰ μέλλοντα τοις δὲ προλελεγμένοις ἔπεται, σκεπτέον ήτις ἀρίστη πολιτεία. καθάπερ γαρ ανθρώπου βίοι πλείονες,

826

Wyttenbach assumes that the beginning is lost.

kal) δέ και codex E.
δε εία τειχίζωμεν Η.Ν.Γ. from Pindar, Frag. 194 (206), p. 465 ed. Schroeder; ἐκτίνωμεν Wyttenbach: εἰ ἀττικῷ μέν. 7 πλείονες Bernardakis: πλέονες.

# ON MONARCHY, DEMOCRACY, AND OLIGARCHY

Now as I was myself bringing before this company as a court of judgement the talk that I presented to you yesterday, I thought I heard, while wide awake, not in a dream,<sup>a</sup> Political Wisdom saying:

Golden foundation is wrought for canticles sacred,<sup>b</sup>

so the speech, which exhorts and encourages you to enter political life has been laid as a basis. "Come, let us now build walls," building upon the exhortation the teaching which is due. And it is due to anyone who has received the exhortation and the impulse to engage in public affairs that he next hear and receive precepts of statecraft by the use of which he will, so far as is humanly possible, be of service to the people and at the same time manage his own affairs with safety and rightful honour. But as a step towards that which follows and a consequence of that which has been said, we must consider what is the best form of government. For just as there are numerous modes of life for a man, so the

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Cf. Homer, Od. xix. 547.
 <sup>b</sup> Pindar, Frag. 194 (206), p. 465 ed. Schroeder.
 <sup>a</sup> Pindar, ibid.

(826) ἔστι καὶ δήμου ἡ πολιτεία βίος ωστε λαβεῖν τὴν ἀρίστην ἀναγκαῖον ἢ γὰρ ἐκ πασῶν αἰρήσεται ταύτην ὁ πολιτικὸς ἢ τῶν λοιπῶν τὴν ὁμοιοτάτην, εἰ ταύτην ἀδύνατον.

2. Λένεται μεν δή πολιτεία και μετάληψις των έν πόλει δικαίων ως φαμεν 'Αλεξάνδρω πολιτείαν Μεναρείς ψηφίσασθαι τοῦ δ' εἰς γέλωτα θεμένου την σπουδήν αὐτῶν, εἰπεῖν ἐκείνους ὅτι μόνω πρότερου την πολιτείαν 'Ηρακλεί και μετ' εκείνου αυτώ Ο ψηφίσαιντο τον δε θαυμάσαντα δεξασθαι το τίμιον έν τω σπανίω τιθέμενον. λέγεται δε καί βίος άνδρος πολιτικού και τὰ κοινά πράττοντος πολιτεία καθό την Περικλέους πολιτείαν επαινοθιιεν καὶ τὴν Βίαντος, ψέγομεν δὲ τὴν Υπερβόλου καὶ Κλέωνος. ένιοι δὲ καὶ μίαν πρᾶξιν εὔστοχον εἰς τὰ κοινά και λαμπράν πολιτείαν προσαγορεύουσιν, οίον χρημάτων ἐπίδοσιν, διάλυσιν πολέμου, ψηφίσματος εἰσήγησιν καθό καὶ πολιτεύσασθαι τον δείνα σήμερον λένομεν, εί τύνοι τι διαπραξάμενος έν κοινώ τών δεόντων.

3. Παρὰ πάντα ταῦτα λέγεται πολιτεία τάξις Ε καὶ κατάστασις πόλεως διοικοῦσα τὰς πράξεις: καθά φασι τρεῖς εἶναι πολιτείας, μοναρχίαν καὶ δλιγαρχίαν καὶ δημοκρατίαν, ὧν καὶ Ἡρόδοτος ἐν τῆ τρίτη σύγκρισιν πεποίηται· καὶ δοκοῦσι γενικώταται εἶναι. τὰς γὰρ ἄλλας, ὧσπερ ἐν τοῖς μουσικοῖς διαγράμμασι τῶν πρώτων τρόπων ἀνιεμένων ἢ ἐπιτεινομένων, συμβέβηκε παρακρούσεις καὶ

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> ή added by Reiske.
<sup>a</sup> Herodotus, iii. 80-84.

## ON GOVERNMENT, 826

government (politeia) is the life of a people, and therefore it is essential for us to take the best form of it: for of all forms the statesman will choose the best or, if he cannot obtain that, then the one of all the rest which is most like it.

2. Now the word politeia (citizenship) is defined also as "having a share of the rights in a State," as we say the Megarians voted Alexander the politeia (citizenship); and when he made fun of their eagerness, they told him that up to that time they had conferred citizenship upon Heracles only and now upon himself. Then Alexander was astonished and accepted the gift, thinking that its rarity gave it value. But the life of a statesman, a man who is occupied in public affairs, is also called politeia (statecraft); as, for example, we commend the politeia (statecraft) of Pericles and of Bias, but condemn that ( Tri ... ... Cleon, And some people even act for the public benefit a politeia (politic act), such, for example, as a gift of money, the ending of a war, the introduction of a bill in parliament; and accordingly we say

nowadays that so-and-so has performed a politeia if he happens to have put through some needed public measure.

3. Besides all these, politeia is defined as an order and constitution of a State, which directs its affairs; and accordingly they say that there are three politeiae (forms of government), monarchy, oligarchy, and democracy, a comparison of which is given by Herodotus in his third book. They appear to be the most typical forms; for the others, as happens in musical scales when the strings of the primary notes are relaxed or tightened, turn out to be errors

F διαφθοράς κατ' έλλειψιν καὶ ύπερβολήν είναι. ταύτας δέ καὶ πλεῖστον καὶ μέγιστον έν ήγεμονίαις δυνηθείσας των έθνων άπεκληρώσαντο τάς πολιτείας, Πέρσαι μέν αὐτοκρατή βασιλείαν καὶ άνυπεύθυνον, Σπαρτιάται δ' άριστοκρατικήν όλιγαρχίαν καὶ αὐθέκαστον, 'Αθηναῖοι δ' αὐτόνομον καὶ ἄκρατον δημοκρατίαν. ὧν άμαρτανομένων παρατροπαί καὶ ὑπερχύσεις εἰσὶν αἱ λεγόμεναι τυραννίδες καὶ δυναστείαι καὶ ὀχλοκρατίαι ὅταν βασιλεία μὲν 827 ύβριν εντέκη καὶ τὸ ἀνυπεύθυνον ὀλιγαρχία δ' ύπερφροσύνην και το αύθαδες δημοκρατία δ' άναρχίαν, ἰσότης δ'² ἀμετρίαν, πᾶσαι δὲ τὸ ἀνόητον. 4. "Ωσπερ οδν ό άρμονικός καὶ μουσικός άνηρ παντί μεν οργάνω χρήσεται προσωδώ τεχνικώς άρμοσάμενος και λόγω κρούων εκαστον, ώς πέφυκεν έμμελες ύπηχεῖν ήδη μέντοι συμβούλω Πλάτωνι γρησάμενος πηκτίδας, σαμβύκας καὶ ψαλτήρια πολύφθογγα καὶ βαρβίτους καὶ τρίγωνα παραπέμψας, Β την λύραν και την κιθάραν προτιμήσει τον αὐτον τρόπον ό πολιτικός άνηρ εθ μέν όλιγαρχίαν Λακωνικήν καὶ Λυκούργειον μεταχειριείται, συναρμοσάμενος αύτῷ τοὺς ἰσοκρατεῖς καὶ ὁμοτίμους ἄνδρας, ήσυχη προσβιαζόμενος εδ δε πολυφθόννω καί πολυχόρδω συνοίσεται δημοκρατία, τὰ μὲν ἀνιείς τὰ δ' ἐπιτείνων τῆς πολιτείας, χαλάσας τ' ἐν καιρῷ καὶ καρτερώς αὖθις ἐμφύς, ἀντιβῆναι καὶ ἀντισχεῖν έπιστάμενος εί δ' αίρεσις αὐτῶ δοθείη, καθάπερ

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> καὶ τὸ added by l'atzig.
<sup>2</sup> δ' added by Reiske.
<sup>3</sup> τρίγωνα Xylander from Plato: τρίβωνα.

## ON GOVERNMENT, 826-827

presumptuousness; (3) democracy breeds anarchy, equality, excess, and all of them folly.

4. So, just as a real musician will make use of every instrument harmoniously, adapting it skilfully and striking each one with regard to its natural tunefulness, and yet, following Plato's advice, b will give up guitars, banjoes, psalteries with their many sounds, harps and string triangles and prefer the lyre and the cithara: in the same way the real statesman will manage successfully the oligarchy that Lycurgus established at Sparta, adapting to himself the colleagues who have equal power and honour and quiet form to do his will; he will also get on which it is many with its many sounds and strings by loosening the strings in some matters of government and tightening them in others, relaxing at the proper time and then again holding fast mightily, knowing how to resist the masses and to hold his ground against them. if he were given the choice among governments,

See Aristotle, Politics, iv. 4. 1 on δυναστεία.
Plato, Republic, 399 c, p.

(827) δρνάνων, των πολιτειών, οὐκ ἂν ἄλλην ἕλοιτο πλήν τὴν μοναργίαν, Πλάτωνι πειθόμενος, τὴν μόνην δυναμένην τον έντελη και όρθιον εκείνον ώς άλη-

Ο θως της άρετης τόνον ανασχέσθαι και μήτε πρός ανάγκην μήτε πρὸς χάριν άρμόσαι τοῦ συμφέροντος. αί μεν γαρ άλλαι πολιτείαι τρόπον τινά κρατούμεναι κρατοῦσι καὶ φερόμεναι φέρουσι τὸν πολιτικόν, οὐκ έχοντα την ισχύν βέβαιον έπι τούτους, παρ' ων έχει τὸ ἰσχῦον, ἀλλὰ πολλάκις ἀναγκαζόμενον τὸ Αἰσχύλειον ἀναφωνεῖν, ῷ πρὸς τὴν τύχην ἐχρῆτο Δημήτριος ὁ πολιορκητὴς ἀποβαλὼν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν

σύ τοί με φυσᾶς,3 σύ με καταίθειν μοι δοκεῖς.5

<sup>2</sup> τούτους Meziriacus: τούτου.

of formation of the u' source, but needlessly. Mss. in Life of Demetrius.

chap. xxxv.: καταίθειν.

<sup>1</sup> άρμόσαι] άρμόσαι ἄνευ Wyttenbach; άρμόσαι τι Hutton: άρμοσαι άπό?

### ON GOVERNMENT, 827

like so many tools, he would follow Plato's advice and choose no other than monarchy, the only one which is able to sustain that top note of virtue, high in the highest sense, and never let it be tuned down under compulsion or expediency. For the other forms of government in a certain sense, although controlled by the statesman, control him, and although carried along by him, carry him along, since he has no firmly established strength to oppose those from whom his strength is derived, but is often compelled to exclaim in the words of Aeschylus a which Demetrius the City-stormer employed against Fortune after he had lost his hegemony,

Thou fanst my flame, methinks thou burnst me up.

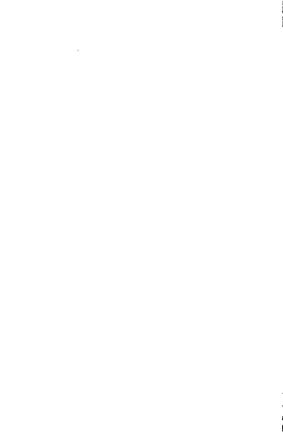
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Nauck, Trag. Graec. Frag. p. 107, no. 359; Life of Demetrius, chap. xxxv.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Wyttenbach, followed by Dübner and others, indicates a break at this point.



# THAT WE OUGHT NOT TO

BORROW (DE VITANDO AERE ALIENO)



# INTRODUCTION

This brief essay consists of repeated warnings, enlivened by running int it was delihave been interesting to an audience of Plutarch's time, and may have been written with an audience in mind. It contains no profound or original doc-

trines, but is simply an agreeable presentation of somewhat commonplace rather literary, rather sen modern reader, rather amusing.

(827) D

# ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΜΗ ΔΕΙΝ ΔΑΝΕΙΖΕΣΘΑΙ

 Ο Πλάτων ἐν τοῖς Νόμοις οὐκ ἐᾶ μεταλαμβά-Ε νειν ύδατος άλλοτρίου τούς γείτονας, αν μή παρ' αύτοις δρύξαντες άχρι της κεραμίτιδος καλουμένης γης άγονον εθρωσι νάματος τὸ χωρίον ή γὰρ κεραμίτις φύσιν έχουσα λιπαράν καὶ πυκνήν στέγει παραλαβούσα τὸ ύγρὸν καὶ οὐ διίησι. δεῖν δὲ μεταλαμβάνειν τάλλοτρίου τους ίδιον κτήσασθαι μή δυναμένους απορία γαρ βοηθεῖν τὸν νόμον. Το οὐ3 δή έδει καί περί χρημάτων είναι νόμον, όπως μή F δανείζωνται παρ' έτέρων μηδ' ἐπ' ἀλλοτρίας πηγάς βαδίζωσι, μη πρότερον οίκοι τὰς αύτῶν ἀφορμὰς έξελέγξαντες καὶ συναγαγόντες ώσπερ ἐκ λιβάδων τὸ χρήσιμον καὶ ἀναγκαῖον αύτοῖς; νυνὶ δ' ὑπὸ τρυφής και μαλακίας ή πολυτελείας οὐ χρώνται τοῖς έαυτών, έγοντες, άλλα λαμβάνουσιν έπι πολλώ παρ' έτέρων, μη δεόμενοι τεκμήριον δὲ μέγα τοῖς γὰρ απόροις οὐ δανείζουσιν, αλλά βουλομένοις εὐπορίαν τιν' έαυτοῖς κτᾶσθαι· καὶ μάρτυρα δίδωσι καὶ βε-

δεῖν Xylander: δεῖ.
 τἀλλοτρίου Bernardakis: τοῦ ἀλλοτρίου.
 τὰρα οτ ἄρα.
 δὴ ἔδει καὶ Wyttenbach: δέδεικται.

# THAT WE OUGHT NOT TO BORROW

1. Plato in the Laws a forbids people to take any water from a neighbour's land unless they have dug on their own land down to a layer of potter's clay, as it is called, and found that the place will not produce a flow of water; for the potter's clay, being by nature oily and solid, holds back the water that reaches it and does not let it through; but, he says, those shall have a share of others' water who cannot get any of their own, for the law gives relief to those in want. Ought there not, then, to be a law about money also, that people shall not borrow from others or resort to other people's springs who have not first examined their resources at home and brought together, as from little trickles, what is useful and necessary to themselves? But now, because of their luxury and effeminacy or their extravagance, they make no use of what is their own, though they possess it, but take from others at a high rate of interest, though they have no need of doing so. There is strong evidence of this: loans are not made to people in need, but to those who wish to acquire some superfluity for themselves. And a man produces a witness and a surety to aver that,

Plato, Laws, 8-1-1 B.

βαιωτὴν ἄξιον, ὅτι ἔχει, πιστεύεσθαι, δέον ἔχοντα

μη δανείζεσθαι.

2. ΤΙ θεραπεύεις τὸν τραπεζίτην ἢ πραγματευ828 τήν; ἀπὸ τῆς ἱδίας δάνεισαι τραπέζης: ἐκπώματ 
τῆς χεις, παροψίδας ἀργυρᾶς, λεκανίδας: ὑπόθου ταῦτα 
τῆ χρεία τὴν δὲ τράπεζαν ἡ καλὴ Αὐλὶς ἢ Τένεδος 
ἀντικοσμήσει τοῖς κεραμεοῖς, καθαρωτέροις οὖοι 
τῶν ἀργυρῶν οὐκ ὄζει τόκου βαρὐ καὶ δυσχερὲς 
ὥσπερ ἰοῦ καθ' ἡμέραν ἐπιρρυπαίνοντος τὴν πολυτέλειαν, οὐδ' ἀναμνήσει τῶν καλανδῶν καὶ τῆς 
νουμηνίας, ἢν ἰερωτάτην ἡμερῶν οὖσαν ἀποφράδα 
ποιοῦσων οἱ δανεισταὶ καὶ στύγιον. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ 
ἀντὶ τοῦ πωλεῖν τιθέντας ἐνέχυρα τὰ αὐτῶν οὐδ' 
Β ἄν ὁ θεὸς σώσειεν ὁ Κτήσιος: αἰσχύνονται τιμὴν 
λαμβάνοντες, οὐκ αἰσχύνονται τόκον τῶν ἱδίων 
διδόντες. καίτοι ὁ γε Περικλῆς ἐκεῖνος τὸν τῶν 
δεῶς κόπιον, ἄνοντα τάλαντα, τεσσαιαάκοντα γου-

λαμβάνοντες, οὐκ αἰσχύνονται τόκον τῶν ἰδίων διδόντες. καίτοι ὁ γε Περικλῆς ἐκεῖνος τὸν τῆς θεᾶς κόσμον, ἄγοντα τάλαντα τεσσαράκοντα χρυσίου ἀπέφθου, περιαιρετὸν ἐποίησεν, ὅπως, ἔφη, χρησάμενοι πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον αὖθις ἀποδῶμεν μὴ ἐλαττον οὐκοῦν καὶ ἡμεῖς ὤσπερ ἐν πολιορκία ταῖς χρείαις μὴ παραδεχώμεθα φρουρὰν δανειστοῦ πολεμίου, μηδ ὁρᾶν τὰ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ δουλεία διδόμενα ἀλλὰ τῆς τραπέζης περιελόντες τὰ μὴ χρήσιμα, τῆς κοίτης, τῶν ἀχμάτων, τῆς διαίτης, ἐλευθέρους διαφυλάττωμεν ἑαυτούς, ὡς ἀποδώσοντες αὖθις, ἐὰν εὐτυχήσωμεν.

C 3. Αἱ μὲν οδν 'Ρωμαίων γυναῖκες εἰς ἀπαρχὴν τῷ Πυθίῳ 'Απόλλωνι τὸν κόσμον ἐπέδωκαν, ὅθεν

The Greek word means bank, as well as table.

b That interest was due on the first of the month is amply attested. Cf. Aristophanes, Clouds, 17, 1134, Horace, 318

# ON BORROWING, 827-828

since the man has property, he deserves credit, whereas, since he has it, he ought not to be borrowing.

2. Why do you pay court to the banker or broker? Borrow of your own table a; you have drinking-cups, silver dishes, bonbonnières. Pawn these for your needs. Beautiful Aulis or Tenedos will adorn your table in their stead with pottery that is cleaner than the silver ware; it does not have the heavy, disagreeable smell of interest defiling every day like rust the surface of your extravagance, nor will it keep reminding you of the first of the month and the new moon, b which, though really the holiest day of the month, the money-lenders have made accursed and detested. For as to those who, instead of selling their belongings, give them as security, not even the God of Property could save them. They are ashamed to accept a price, but not ashamed to pay interest on what is their own. And yet the great Pericles made the ornaments of the Goddess, which weighed forty talents of refined gold, so that they could be taken off, "in order," he said, "that we may use it for the expenses of the war, and then pay back an equal amount." And so let us likewise, when we are, as it were, besieged by our needs, refuse to admit the garrison of a money-lender, our enemy, or to allow our property to be sold into slavery. No, let us preserve our liberty by taking off what is useless from our table, our bed, our vehicles, and our daily expenses, intending to pay it back if we are fortunate.

3. Now the Ro in ir ornaments as an offering to Pyt in them made the

Satires, i. 3. 87 (tristes kalendae), for the detestation of the day.

Thucydides, ii. 13.

(828) δ. χρυσούς κρατήρ είς Δελφούς ἐπέμφθη· αί δὲ Καρχηδονίων γυναίκες εκείραντο τας κεφαλάς και ταις θριξίν έντειναι τὰς μηχανάς και τὰ ὅργανα παρέσγον ύπερ της πατρίδος ήμεις δε την αύτάρκειαν αἰσχυνόμενοι καταδουλοῦμεν έαυτους ύποθήκαις καὶ συμβολαίοις, δέον εἰς αὐτὰ τὰ χρήσιμα συσταλέντας καὶ συσπειραθέντας ἐκ τῶν ἀχρήστων καὶ περιττῶν κατακοπέντων ἢ πραθέντων ἐλευθερίας αύτοις ιερον ιδρύσασθαι και τέκνοις και γυναιξίν. D ή μèν γὰρ "Αρτεμις ἡ ἐν Ἐφέσω τοῖς χρεώσταις, όταν καταφύγωσιν εἰς τὸ ἱερον αὐτῆς, ἀσυλίαν παρέχει καὶ άδειαν ἀπὸ τῶν δανείων1. τὸ δὲ τῆς εὐτελείας καὶ ἄσυλον καὶ ἄβατον πανταχοῦ τοῖς σώφροσιν αναπέπταται, πολλής σχολής εθρυχωρίαν παρέγον ίλαραν και επίτιμον. ώς γαρ ή Πυθία τοις 'Αθηναίοις περί τὰ Μηδικὰ τεῖχος ξύλινον διδόναι τὸν θεὸν ἔφη, κάκεῖνοι τὴν χώραν καὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὰ κτήματα καὶ τὰς οἰκίας ἀφέντες εἰς τὰς ναῦς κατέφυγον ύπερ της έλευθερίας, ούτως ήμιν ο θεός δίδωσι ξυλίνην τράπεζαν καὶ κεραμεᾶν λεκάνην καὶ τραχύ ιμάτιον, έὰν έλεύθεροι ζην έθέλωμεν.

Ε μηδέ σύ γ' ἱπποσύνας τε μένειν, μηδ' ὀχήματα ζευκτὰ κερασφόρα² καὶ κατάργυρα, ἃ τόκοι ταχεῖς καταλαμβάνουσι καὶ παρατρέχουσυν ἀλλ' ὄνω τινὶ τῷ τυχόντι καὶ καβάλλη χρώμενος φεῦγε πολέμιον καὶ τύραννον δανειστήν, οὐ γῆν² ¹ δανείων] "α creditoribus," ἰε. δανειστῶν, Xylander's version.

² κερασφόρα | κατάχρυσα οι καταπόρφυρα Reiske.
γῆν Χylander: πῆρ.

Beginning with the fourth century n.c. the ancients employed various machines to hurl projectiles. They are commonly called catapults (καταπέλτης). Their power lay in the elasticity of wooden beams which were bent by means 320

# ON BORROWING, 828

golden bowl which was sent to Delphi; and the women of Carthage shore their heads and gave their hair to make roves for the tension of machines and instruments a in defence of their native city. But we, ashamed to be independent, enslave ourselves by mortgages and notes, when we ought to limit and restrict ourselves to actual necessities and from the proceeds of the breaking up or the sale of useless superfluities to found a sanctuary of Liberty for ourselves, our children, and our wives. The goddess Artemis at Ephesus grants to debtors when they take refuge in her sanctuary protection and safety from their debts, but the protecting and inviolable sanctuary of Frugality is everywhere wide open to sensible men, offering them a joyous and honourable expanse of plentiful leisure. For just as the Pythian prophetcssb in the time of the Persian wars told the Athenians that the God offered them a wooden wall, and they, giving up their land, their city, their possessions, and their houses, took refuge in their ships for the sake of liberty, so to us God offers a wooden table, a pottery dish, and a coarse cloak if we wish to live as free men.

Do not abide the attack of the horsemen,

nor of yoked chariots adorned with horn or silver, which rapid interest overtakes and outruns. No, make use of any chance donkey or nag and flee from your enemy and tyrant, the money-lender, who does

of ropes rendered taut by twisting, whence the Latin name tormentum. The story is found in Appian, viii. 13. 93.

b Herodotus, vii. 141. The quotation is from the oracle in hexameters delivered to the Athenians by the priestess at Delphi when the Persians invaded Attica in 480 s.c. before the battle of Salamis.

αίτοῦντα καὶ ὕδωρ ώς ὁ Μῆδος, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἐλευθερίας άπτόμενον καὶ προγράφονται τὴν ἐπιτιμίαν. καν μη διδώς, ενοχλούντα καν έχης, μη λαμβάνοντα καν πωλής, ἐπευωνίζοντα καν μη πωλής, ἀναγκάζοντα· κᾶν δικάζης, ἐντυγχάνοντα· κᾶν F ομόσης, επιτάττοντα· καν βαδίζης επὶ θύρας, ἀποκλείοντα κᾶν οἴκοι μένης, ἐπισταθμεύοντα καὶ θυροκοπούντα.

4. Τί γὰρ ὤνησε Σόλων 'Αθηναίους ἀπαλλάξας τοῦ ἐπὶ τοῖς σώμασιν ὀφείλειν; δουλεύουσι γὰρ άπασι τοῖς ἀφανισταῖς, μᾶλλον δ' οὐδ' αὐτοῖς· τί γὰρ ἦν τὸ δεινόν; ἀλλὰ δούλοις ὑβρισταῖς καὶ βαρβάροις καὶ ἀγρίοις, ὥσπερ οθς ὁ Πλάτων φησὶ καθ' "Αιδου διαπύρους κολαστάς καὶ δημοκοίνους έφεστάναι τοῖς ἠσεβηκόσι. καὶ γὰρ οὖτοι τὴν ἀγορὰν 829 ἀσεβῶν χώραν ἀποδείξαντες τοῖς ἀθλίοις χρεώσταις γυπῶν δίκην ἔσθουσι καὶ ὑποκείρουσιν αὐτοὺς " δέρτρον ἔσω δύνοντες," τοὺς δ' ὤσπερ Ταντάλους έφεστώτες είργουσι γεύσασθαι των ίδίων τρυγώντας καὶ συγκομίζοντας. ως δε Δαρείος επὶ τὰς 'Αθήνας ἔπεμψε Δᾶτιν καὶ ᾿Αρταφέρνην ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν άλύσεις έχοντας καὶ δεσμὰ κατὰ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων, παραπλησίως οδτοι τῶν χειρογράφων καὶ συμβολαίων ώσπερ πεδών ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα κομίζοντες άγγεία μεστά τὰς πόλεις ἐπιπορεύονται καί διελαύ-Β νουσι, σπείροντες ούχ ήμερον καρπόν ώς δ Τριπτόλεμος, άλλ' όφλημάτων ρίζας πολυπόνους καί πολυτόκους καὶ δυσεκλείπτους τιθέντες, αι κύκλω νεμόμεναι καὶ περιβλαστάνουσαι κάμπτουσι καὶ

<sup>1</sup> προγράφοντα Madvig: προσγράφοντα.

Blato, Republic, 615 E. Homer, Od. xi. 578.

# ON BORROWING, 828-829

not, like the Persian, demand earth and water, but attacks your liberty and brings suit against your honour. If you will not pay him, he duns you; if you have funds, he won'

he beats down the price

you to do so; if you sue him, he meets you in court; if you take your oath, he orders you to do so; if you go to his door, he shuts it in your face; if you stay at home, he installs himself there and keeps knocking

at your door.

4. For what good did Solon do the Athenians when he put an end to giving one's person as security for debt? For debtors are slaves to all the men who ruin them, or rather not to them either (for what would be so terrible in that?), but to outrageous, barbarous, and savage slaves, like those who Plato savs a stand in Hades as fiery avengers and executioners over those who have been impious in life. For these money-lenders make the market-place a place of the damned for the wretched debtors; like vultures they devour and flay them, " entering into their entrails," b or in other instances they stand over them and inflict on them the tortures of Tantalus by preventing them from tasting their own produce which they reap and harvest. And as Dareius sent Datis and Artaphernes against Athens with chains and fetters in their hands for their captives, in similar fashion these men, bringing against Greece jars full of signatures and notes as fetters, march against and through the cities, not, like Triptolemus, sowing beneficent grain, but planting roots of debts, roots productive of much toil and much interest and hard to escape from, which, as they sprout and shoot up round about, press down and strangle the

(829) ἄγχουσι τὰς πόλεις. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ λαγὼς λέγουσι τίκτειν ἄμα καὶ τρέφειν ἔτερα καὶ ἐπικυΐσκεσθαι πάλιν, τὰ δὲ τῶν μαστιγιῶν τούτων καὶ βαρβάρων χρέα πρὶν ἢ συλλαβεῖν τίκτει διδόντες γὰρ εὐθὺς ἀπαιτοῦσι καὶ τιθέντες αἴρουσι καὶ δανείζουσιν δ λαμβάνουσιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ δανεῖσαι.

5. Λέγεται μέν παρά Μεσσηνίοις

C ἔστι Πύλος πρὸ Πύλοιο, Πύλος γε μὲν ἔστι καὶ ἄλλος·

λεχθήσεται δὲ πρὸς τοὺς δανειστὰς

ἔστι τόκος πρὸ τόκοιο, τόκος γε μὲν ἔστι καὶ ἄλλος.

εἶτα τῶν φυσικῶν δήπου καταγελῶσι, λεγόντων μηδὲν ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὅντος γεινέσθαι ταρὰ τούτοις γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ μὴκετ' ὅντος μηδ' ὑφεστῶτος γεννάται τόκος: καὶ τὸ τελωνεῦν ὄνειδος ἡγοῦνται, τοῦ νόμου διδόντος: αὐτοὶ γὰρὶ παρανόμως δανείζουσι τελωνοῦντες, μᾶλλον δ', εἰ δεῖ τἀληθὲς εἰπεῖν, ἐν τῷ δανείζειν χρεωκοποῦντες: ὁ γὰρ οῦ γράφει λαμβάνων ἔλαττον χρεωκοποῦντες: ὁ γὰρ οῦ γράφει λαμβάνων ἔλαττον χρεωκοποῖντια. καίτοι Πέρσαι γε τὸ ψεύδεσθαι δείτερον ἡγοῦνται τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων, πρῶτον δὲ τὸ ὀφείλειν· ὅτι καὶ τὸ ψεύδεσθαι τοῖς ὀφείλουσι Ο συμβαίνει πολλάκις: ψεύδονται δὲ μᾶλλον οἱ δανείζοντες καὶ τὸ ψεῦδος ἀντίαν ἔγει πλεονεξίαν, ολκ ἀνάγκην οὐδ' ἀπορίαν, ἀλλ' ἀπληστίαν, ἦς ἀναπό-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> αὐτοὶ γάρ Bernardakis; αὐτοὶ δὲ Meziriacus: αὐτοὶ.
<sup>2</sup> οῦ Bongars: οὐ.

There is here, and also above and below, a play on the 324

# ON BORROWING, 829

cities. They say that hares at one and the same time give birth to one litter, suckle another, and conceive again; but the loans of these barbarous rascals give birth to interest before conception a; for while they are giving they immediately demand payment, while they lay money down they take it up, and they lend what they receive for money lent.

5. There is a saying among the Messenians, Pylos there is before Pylos, and Pylos, a third, there is also,

Pylos there is before Pylos, and Pylos, a third, there is also, but as to the money-lenders we may say

Int'rest there is before int'rest, and int'rest a third there is also.

And then they make a laughing-stock forsooth of the scientists, who say that nothing arises out of nothing; for with these men interest arises out of that which has as yet no being or existence. think it is a disgrace to be a tax-collector, which the law allows; for they themselves lend money contrary to law, collecting taxes from their debtors, or rather, if the truth is to be told, cheating them in the act of lending; for he who receives less than the face value of his note is cheated. And yet the Persians regard lying as the second among wrongdoings and being in debt as the first c; for lying is often practised by debtors; but money-lenders lie more than debtors and cheat in their ledgers, when they write that they give so-and-so much to so-and-so. though they really give less; and the cause of their lie is avarice, not necessity or want, but insatiable

word τόκος, which means "offspring" and also "interest," the offspring of debt.

<sup>Strabo, viii. 7, p. 339; Aristophanes, Knights, 1059.
Herodotus, i. 138, puts lying first and debt second.</sup> 

λαυστόν έστιν αὐτοῖς τὸ τέλος καὶ ἀνωφελές ὀλέθριον δέ τοις άδικουμένοις. ούτε γάρ άγρους ούς άφαιροθνται των χρεωστών γεωργοθσιν, οθτ' οίκίας αὐτῶν, ἐκβαλόντες ἐκείνους, οἰκοῦσιν, οὕτε τραπέζας παραπίθενται οὖτ' ἐσθήτας ἐκείνων· ἀλλά πρωτός τις απόλωλε, και δεύτερος κυνηγετείται Ε ύπ' ἐκείνου δελεαζόμενος. νέμεται γάρ ώς πῦρ τὸ άγριον αθξόμενον ολέθρω και φθορά των έμπεσόντων, άλλον έξ άλλου καταναλίσκον ο δε τουτο ριπίζων και τρέφων επί πολλούς δανειστής ούδεν έχει πλέον η διά χρόνου λαβών άναγνωναι πόσους πέπρακε καὶ πόσους ἐκβέβληκε καὶ πόθεν που κυλινδόμενον καὶ σωρευόμενον διαβέβηκε τὸ ἀργύριον.

6. Καὶ ταῦτα μή μ' οἴεσθε λέγειν πόλεμον έξενηνοχότα πρός τους δανειστάς.

οὐ γὰρ πώποτ' ἐμὰς βοῦς ἤλασαν οὐδὲ μὲν

F άλλ' ἐνδεικνύμενον τοῖς προχείρως δανειζομένοις, όσην έχει τὸ πράγμα αἰσχύνην καὶ ἀνελευθερίαν καί ότι τὸ δανείζεσθαι τῆς ἐσχάτης ἀφροσύνης καὶ μαλακίας ἐστίν. ἔχεις; μὴ δανείση, οὐ γὰρ άπορείς. οὐκ ἔχεις; μὴ δανείση, οὐ γὰρ ἐκτίσεις. κατ' ίδίαν δ' ουτως έκάτερα σκοπώμεν. δ Κάτων πρός τινα πρεσβύτην πονηρευόμενον " ὧ ἄνθρωπε, τί τῷ γήρα,'' ἔφη, '' πολλά κακά ἔχοντι τὴν ἐκ τῆς πονηρίας αλοχύνην προστίθης; " οὐκοῦν καὶ σὺ 830 τῆ πενία, πολλών κακών προσόντων, μὴ ἐπισώρευε

# ON BORROWING, 829-830

greed, which in the end brings neither enjoyment nor profit to them and ruin to those whom they wrong. For they do not till the fields which they take from their debtors, nor do they live in their houses after evicting them, nor do they eat at their tables or wear their clothes, but they ruin one man first, then hunt a second, using the other as bait. For the savage practice spreads like fire, growing by the ruin and destruction of those who fall into it, consuming one after another. And the moneylender who fans and feeds this fire to the ruin of many men gains nothing, except that from time to time he can take his account-books and read how many men he has sold out, how many he has driven from their homes, and, in general, the sources from which his hoard of money, rolling in and piling up, has made such gains.

 And do not think that I say this because I have declared war against the money-lenders;

Ne'er have they harried my cattle, nor ever made off with my horses <sup>a</sup>;

but that I am pointing out to those who are too ready to become borrowers how much disgrace and servility there is in the practice and that borrowing is an act of extreme folly and weakness. Have you money? Do not borrow, for you are not in need. Have you no money? Do not borrow, for you will not be able to pay. Let us look at each of these two alternatives separately. Cato once said to an old man who was behaving wickedly: "Sir, when old age has so many evils of its own, why do you add to them the disgrace of wickedness?" Therefore in your own case do not heap up upon poverty, which has many attendant evils, the perplexities which

(830) τὰς ἐκ τοῦ δανείζεσθαι καὶ ὀφείλειν ἀμηχανίας μηδ' ἀφαιροῦ τῆς πενίας, ῷ μόνῳ τοῦ πλούτου διαφέρει, τὴν ἀμεριμνίαν. ἐπεὶ τὸ τῆς παροιμίας ἔσται γελοῖον

οὐ δύναμαι τὴν αἶγα φέρειν, ἐπί μοι θέτε¹ τὸν βοῦν.

πενίαν φέρειν μη δυνάμενος δανειστήν ἐπιτίθης

σεαυτῷ, φορτίον καὶ πλουτοῦντι δύσοιστον. πῶς οὖν διατραφῶ; τοῦτ' ἐρωτᾶς, ἔχων χεῖρας, ἔχων πόδας, ἔχων φωνήν, ἄνθρωπος ὤν, ῷ τὸ φιλεῶν ἔστι καὶ φιλεῖσθαι καὶ τὸ χαρίζεσθαι καὶ τὸ εὐχα-Βριστεῖν; γράμματα διδάσκων, καὶ παιδαγωγῶν, καὶ θυρωρῶν, πλέων, παραπλέων οὐδέν ἐστι τούτων αἴσχιον οὐδὲ δυσχερέστερον τοῦ ἀκοῦσαι '' ἀπόδος.'' τ. 'Ο 'Pουτίλιος ἐκεῖνος ἐν 'Ρώμη τῷ Μουσωνίω προσελθῶν '' Μουσώνιε,'' εἶπεν, '' ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ σωτήρ, ὅν σὸ μιμῆ καὶ ζηλοῖς, οὐ δανείζεται.'' καὶ ὁ Μουσώνιος μειδιάσας εἶπεν '' οὐδὲ δανείζει.'' ὁ γὰρ 'Pουτίλιος, δανείζων αὐτός ὡνείδιζεν ἐκείνω δανείζομένω. Στωική τις αὕτη τυφομανία τι γάρ σε δεῖ τὸν Δία τὸν σωτῆρα κινεῖν, αὐτόθεν ὑπομνῆσαι τοῖς φαινομένοις ἐνός; οὐ δανείζονται

χελιδόνες, οὐ δανείζονται μύρμηκες, οἷς ἡ φύσις οὐ ζειρας, οὐ λόγον, οὐ τέχνην δέδωκεν ἄνθρωποι δὲ περιουσία συνέσεως διὰ τὸ εὐμήχανον ἵππους παρατρέφουσι, κύνας, πέρδικας, λαγωούς, κολοιούς τί οὖν γε σεαυτοῦ κατέγνωκας, ἀπιθανώτερος ὢν

<sup>1</sup> ἐπί μοι θέτε Reiske: κἀπίθετε. 2 Στωϊκή Wyttenbach: ὡς στωϊκή. 3 πέρδικας λαγωούς Aldine edition: πέρδικας.

# ON BORROWING, 830

arise from borrowing and owing, and do not deprive poverty of the only advantage which it possesses over wealth, namely freedom from care; since by so doing you will incur the derision of the proverb,

I am unable to carry the goat, put the ox then upon me."

Being unable to carry the burden of poverty you put the money-lender upon your back, a burden difficult for even the rich to bear. "How, then, am I to live?" Do you ask this, when you have hands and feet and a voice, when you are a man capable of loving and being loved, of doing favours and being grateful for them? Live by teaching letters, by leading children to school, by being a door-keeper, by working as a sailor or a boatman; none of these is so disgraceful or disagreeable as hearing the order "Pay up."

7. The well-known Roman Rutilius went up to Musonius and said, "Musonius, Zeus the Saviour, whom you imitate and emulate, is no borrower"; and Musonius answered with a smile, "He is no lender, either." For Rutilius, who was himself a lender, was finding fault with Musonius for borrowing. This is an example of the vanity of the Stoics; for why should you bring in Zeus the Saviour, when you can use as examples things that are here before vour eves? Swallows do not borrow, ants do not borrow, creatures upon which nature has bestowed neither hands, reason, nor art; but men, with their superior intellect, support through their ingenuity horses, dogs, partridges, hares, and jackdaws in addition to themselves. Why, then, have you come to the poor opinion of yourself, that you are less

a Paroemiographi Graeci, ii. 592.

(830) κολοιοῦ καὶ ἀφωνότερος πέρδικος καὶ κυνὸς ἀγεννέστερος, ωστ' ἀπ' ἀνθρώπου μηδενὸς ἀφελεῖσθαι περιέπων, ψυχαγωγών, φυλάττων, προμαχόμενος; ούχ όρφς, ώς πολλά μέν γη παρέχει πολλά δέ θάλαττα;

καὶ μὴν Μίκκυλον¹ εἰσεῖδον²

φησίν ὁ Κράτης

τῶν ἐρίων ξαίνοντα, γυναῖκά τε συγξαίνουσαν, τὸν λιμὸν φεύγοντας ἐν αἰνῆ δηιοτῆτι.

Κλεάνθη δ' δ βασιλεὺς 'Αντίγονος ἢρώτα διὰ χρόνου θεασάμενος ἐν ταῖς 'Αθήναις '' ἀλεῖς ἔτι, Κλέ-'' ἀλῶ,'' φησίν, '' ὧ βασιλεῦ· δ ποιῶ  $D a \nu \theta \epsilon s$ ;" ένεκα του Ζήνωνος μή αποστήναι μηδέ φιλοσοφίας." ὄσον τὸ φρόνημα τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἀπό τοῦ μύλου καὶ τῆς μάκτρας πεττούση χειρὶ καὶ ἀλούση γράφειν περί θεῶν καὶ σελήνης καὶ ἄστρων καὶ ήλίου. ήμεν δὲ δουλικά δοκεί ταθτ' ἔργα. τοιγαροῦν τν ἐλεύθεροι ῶμεν δανεισάμενοι, κολακεύομεν οἰκοτριβέας ἀνθρώπους καὶ δορυφοροῦμεν και δειπνίζομεν και δώρα και φόρους υποτελουμεν, οὐ διὰ τὴν πενίαν (οὐδεὶς γὰρ δανείζει πένητι), άλλα διά την πολυτέλειαν. εί γαρ ηρκούμεθα τοῖς

<sup>1</sup> Μίκκυλον Xylander: μίκυλλον or μίκυλον. Cobet supplies κρατέρ' άλγε' έχοντα from Homer, Od. xi. 593; cf. Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Graec. ii. p. 366.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. C. Wachsmuth, Sillograph, Graecorum Reliquiae,

p. 194. 8 Ζήνωνος μή von 1 · · · · · Qualant.

p. 134: ζην μόνος δ'. gives a longer versior αὐτον συνεγύμναζεν εἰς τούτο, "tor Leno trained him tor this."

Capps suggests ὁ ποιώ . . . τοῦ ζῆν μόνον, ως μ' ἀποστῆναι 330

### ON BORROWING, 830

persuasive than a jackdaw, more dumb than a partridge, less well-born than a dog, so that you can obtain no help from any human being by waiting on him, entertaining him, guarding him, or fighting for him? Do you not see how many opportunities are offered on land and on the sea?

Lo, even Miccylus I beheld,ª

says Crates,

Carding the wool, and his wife too carding the wool along

Striving in terrible conflict to 'scape from the onslaught of famine.

King Antigonus asked Cleanthes, when he met him in Athens after not seeing him for a while, "Are you still grinding corn, Cleanthes?" "Yes, Your Majcsty," he replied; "and I do it on account of Zeno's precept not to desist from it, nor from philosophy either." What a great spirit the man had who came from the mill and the kneadingtrough, and with the hand which ground the flour and baked the bread wrote about the gods, the moon, the stars, and the sun! But to us such labours seem slavish. And therefore, in order to be free, we contract debts and pay court to men who are ruiners of homes, we act as bodyguard to them, dine them, make them presents, and pay them tribute, not because of our poverty (for no one lends to poor men), but because of our extravagance. For if we were content with the necessaries of life,

<sup>a</sup> Crates, Frag. 6, Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Graec. ed. 4, ii. p. 366. The last three words occur also in Homer, Od. xii. 257.

μή δέη φιλοσοφίας, "merely to live, that I may not have to abandon philosophy."

<sup>4</sup> οἰκοτριβέας Capps: οἰκότριβας.

ἀναγκαίοις πρὸς τὸν βίον, οὐκ ἄν ἢν γένος δανειστών, ὅσπερ οὐδὲ Κενταύρων ἔστιν οὐδὲ Γοργόνων Ε ἀλλ' ἡ τρυφὴ δανειστὰς ἐποίησεν οὐχ ἦττον ἢ χρυσοχόους καὶ ἀργυροκόπους καὶ μυρεψοὺς καὶ ἀνθοβάφους. οὐ γὰρ ἄρτων οὐδ' οἴνου τιμὴν ὀφείλομεν, ἀλλὰ χωρίων καὶ ἀνδραπόδων καὶ ἡμιόνων καὶ τρικλίνων καὶ τραπεζῶν, καὶ χορηγούντες ἐκλελυμένως πόλεσι, φιλοτιμούμενοι φιλοτιμίας ἀκάρπους καὶ ἀχαρίστους. ὁ δ' ἄπαξ ἐνειληθεὶς μένει χρεώστης διὰ παντός, ἄλλον ἐξ ἄλλου μεταλαμβάνων ἀναβάτην, ὥσπερ ἴππος ἐγ-Τς χαλινωθείς· ἀποφυγὴ δ' οὐκ ἔστιν ἐπὶ τὰς νομὰς ἐκείνας καὶ τοὺς λειμῶνας, ἀλλὰ πλάζονται καθάπερ οἱ θεήλατοι καὶ οὐρανοπετεῖς ἐκεῖνοι τοῦ Ἐμπεδοκλέους δαίμονες·

αἰθέριον μὲν γάρ σφε μένος πόντονδε διώκει, πόντος δ' ἐς¹ χθονὸς οῦδας ἀπέπτυσε⁵· γαῖα δ' ἐς αὐνὰς

ήελίου ἀκάμαντος· ὁ δ' αἰθέρος ἔμβαλε δίναις·

831 " ἄλλος δ' ἐξ ἄλλου δέχεται " τοκιστής ή πραγματευτής Κορίνθιος, εἶτα Πατρεύς, εἶτ' 'Αθηναῖος, ἄχρι ἄν ὑπὸ πάντων περικρουόμενος εἶς τόκους διαλυθή καὶ κατακερματισθή, καθάπερ γὰρ ἀναστήναι δεῖ τὸν πεπηλωμένον ή μένειν, ὁ δὲ στρεφόμενος καὶ κυλινδούμενος ὑγρῷ τῷ σώματι καὶ διαβρόχω προσπεριβάλλεται πλείονα μολυυσμόνο οὕτως ἐν ταῖς μεταγραφαῖς καὶ μεταπτώσεσι τῶν δανείων τοὺς τόκους προσαναλαμβάνοντες αὐτοῖς

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> ἀπέπτυσε Moralia, 361 C: ἀνέπτυσε.

# ON BORROWING, 830-831

the race of money-lenders would be as non-existent as that of Centaurs and Gorgons; but luxury produced money-lenders just as it did goldsmiths, silversmiths, perfumers, and dyers in gay colours; for our debts are incurred, not to pay for bread or wine, but for country-seats, slaves, mules, banquet-halls, and tables, and because we give shows to the cities with unrestrained expenditure, contending in fruitless and thankless rivalries. But the man who is once involved remains a debtor all his life, exchanging, like a horse that has once been bridled, one rider for another. And there is no escape to those former pastures and meadows, but they wander like the spirits described by Empedocles, who have been expelled by the gods and thrown out from heaven:

Into the waves of the sea they are driv'n by the might of the ether;

Then on the floor of the earth the sea vomits them; earth then ejects them

Into the untiring sun's rays; and he hurls them to eddying ether.

And so "one after another takes over" b the borrower, first a usurer or broker of Corinth, then one of Patrae, then an Athenian, until, attacked on all sides by all of them, he is dissolved and chopped up into the small change of interest payments. For just as a man who has fallen into the mire must either get up or stay where he is, but he who turns and rolls over covers his wet and drenched person with more dirt; so in their transfers and changes of loans, by assuming additional interest payments

Mullach, ibid. vs. 35.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Mullach, Frag. Phil. Graec. i. p. 2, vss. 32 ff.; quoted also in Moralia, 361 c.

Β καὶ προσπλάττοντες ἀεὶ βαρύτεροι γίγνονται καὶ (831) τῶν χολερικῶν οὐδὲν διαφέρουσιν, οἱ θεραπείαν μὲν οὐ προσδέχονται, τὸ δὲ προστεταγμένον ἐξερῶντες, ἐτα πλέον αδθις συλλέγοντες ἀεὶ διατελοῦσι· καὶ γὰρ οὖτοι καθαρθῆναι μὲν οὐ θέλουσιν, ἀεὶ δ', ὅσαι τοῦ ἔτους ὧραι, μετ ὀδύνης καὶ σπαραγμῶν τὸν τόκον ἀναφέροντες, ἐπιρρέοντος εὐθὺς ἐτέρου καὶ προσισταμένου, πάλιν ναυτιῶσι καὶ καρηβαροῦσι· δέον ἀπαλλαγέντας εἰλικρινεῖς καὶ ἐλευθέρους γίννεσθαι.

μαλακωτέρους ὁ λόγος ἔστι, τοὺς λέγοντας '' ἄδουλος οὖν γένωμαι καὶ ἀνέστιος καὶ ἄοικος; '' ὤσπερ () εἰ λέγοι πρὸς ἰστρὸν ἄρρωστος ὑδρωπιῶν καὶ ψδηκὼς '' ἰσγνὸς οὖν γένωμαι καὶ κενός; '' τί δ' οὐ μέλλεις, ἱν' ὑγιαίνης; καὶ σὺ γενοῦ ἄδουλος, ἵνα μὴ δοῦλος ἦς: καὶ ἀκτήμων, ἵνα μὴ κτῆμ' ἦς ἄλλου. καὶ τὰν τῶν γυπῶν λόγον ἄκουσον· ἐμοῦντος τοῦ ἔτέρου καὶ λέγοντος τὰ σπλάγχν' ἐκβάλλειν, ἔτερος παρὼν '' καὶ τί δεινόν;'' εἶπεν· '' οὐ γὰρ τὰ σεαυτοῦ σπλάγχν' ἐκβάλλεις, ἀλλὰ τὰ τοῦ νεκροῦ δν ἄρτι ἐσπαράττομεν.'' καὶ τῶν χρεωστῶν οὐ πωλεῦ ἔκαστος τὸ ἔαυτοῦ χωρίον οὐδὲ τὴν ἰδίαν οἰκίαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν τοῦ δανείσαντος δν τῶ νόμω

8. "Ηδη γάρ μοι πρός τους ευπορωτέρους και

D κύριον αὐτῶν πεποίηκε. "νη Δία," φησίν, "ἀλλ' ὁ πατήρ μου τὸυ ἀγρὸν τοῦτον κατέλιπε." και γὰρ καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν και τὴν ἐπιτιμίαν ὁ πατὴρ

ἐξερῶντες Reiske: ἐξαίροντες.
 τὰ added by Bernardakis.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Evidently the man in debt is supposed to borrow from one lender in order to pay another.

# ON BORROWING, 831

and plastering themselves with them, they weigh themselves down more and more; and they are much like persons ill with cholera, who do not accept treatment, but vomit up the prescribed medicine and then continue constantly to collect more disease. Similarly these borrowers refuse to be purged, and always, at every season of the year, when painfully and with convulsions they cough up the interest while another payment immediately accrues and presses upon them, they suffer a fresh attack of nausea and headache. What they ought to do is to get rid of debts and become healthy and free

again.

8. From now on my words are addressed to those who are more well-to-do and accustomed to a softer way of living, those who say "Am I, then, to be without slaves, without hearth and home?", as if a sick man who is swollen up with dropsy should say to his physician "Am I, then, to be made thin and empty?" Why not, to make you get well? And so you should do without slaves, that you may not be a slave yourself, and without property, that you may not be the property of another. Hear the tale of the vultures: One of them had an attack of vomiting and said he was spewing out bowels, but the other, who was there, said "What harm is there in that? For you are not spewing out your own bowels, but those of the corpse we tore to pieces a little while ago." So any man in debt sells, not his own plot of land, nor his own house, but those of his creditor whom by law he has made their owner. "Not so, by Zeus," he says; "why my father left me this field." Yes, and your father left you your liberty and your good reputation, which you ought

(831) έδωκεν, ὧν σε δεῖ λόγον ἔχειν πλείονα. καὶ τὸν πόδα καὶ τὴν χεῖρ' ὁ γεννήσας ἐποίησεν, ἀλλ' ὅταν σαπῆ, μισθὸν δίδως τῷ ἀποκόπτοντι. τῷ δ' 'Οδυσσεῖ τὴν ἐσθῆτα ἡ Καλυψὼ περιέθηκεν " εἴματ' ἀμφιέσασα θυώδεα!" χρωτὸς ἀθανάτου πνέοντα, δῶρα καὶ μνημόσυνα τῆς φιλίας ὅντα τῆς ἐκείνης ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ περιτραπεὶς καὶ βυθισθείς μόλις ἀνέσχε, τῆς ἐσθῆτος γενομένης διαβρόχου καὶ βαρείας, ἐκείνην μὲν ἔρρυψεν ἀποδυσάμενος, κρηδέμνω δέ τινι γυμνὸν ὑποζώσας τὸ στέρνον

Ε νῆχε παρέξ ἐς γαῖαν ὁρώμενος

καὶ διασωθεὶς οὖτ' ἐσθῆτος οὖτε τροφῆς ἠπόρησε. τί οὖν; οὐ γίγνεται χειμών περὶ τοὺς χρεώστας, ὅταν ἐπιστῆ διὰ χρόνου δανειστὴς λέγων '' ἀπόδος '';

ως είπων σύναγεν νεφέλας, ετάραξε δε πόντον σύν δ' εδρός τε νότος τ' επεσε ζέφυρός τε δυσαής

τόκων τόκοις ἐπικυλισθέντων· ὁ δὲ συγκλυζόμενος ἀντέχεται τῶν βαρυνόντων, ἀπονήξασθαι καὶ φυγεῖν μὴ δυνάμενος· ἀλλ' ἀθεῖται κατά βυθοῦ, μετὰ τῶν ἐγγυησαμένων φίλων ἀφανιζόμενος. Κράτης δ' ὁ F Θηβαῖος ὑπ' οὐδενὸς ἀπαιτούμενος οὐδ' ὀφείλων, αὐτὰς δὲ τὰς οἰκονομίας καὶ φροντίδας καὶ περισπασμούς δυσχεραίνων, ἀφῆκεν οὐσίαν ὀκτὰ τα λάντων, καὶ τρίβωνα καὶ πήραν ἀναλαβών εἰς φιλοσοφίαν καὶ πενίαν κατέφυγεν. 'Αναξαγόρας δὲ τὴν χώραν κατέλιπε μηλόβοτον. καὶ τί δεῦ

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> θυώδεα Xylander from Od. v. 264: εὐώδεα.

Homer, Od. v. 264.

b Homer, Od. v. 439.

# ON BORROWING, 831

to value more. So, too, he who begat you made your foot and your hand, but when it is mortified, you pay a surgeon for cutting it off. Calypso clothed Odysseus in her garment, "putting fragrant raiment upon him" a that breathed of her divine person, as a gift and a memento of her love; but when he was capsized and engulfed by the waves and could hardly keep himself up since the garment had become soaked and heavy, he took it off and threw it from him, then, binding a wimple about his naked breast,

Long-shore he swam looking landward,

and when he reached safety he had no lack of garment or food. Well, then, is it not a tempest that arises about debtors when the lender after a while comes up to them saying "Pay"?

Thus having spoken he gathered the clouds and stirred up the great waters;

East wind and South wind and West with furious blasts raged together, o

as interest rolled up upon interest; and the debtor, overwhelmed, struggles against them as they weigh him down, but cannot swim away and escape; no, he sinks down to the bottom and disappears along with the friends who have endorsed his notes. Crates the Theban, when he was not pressed for payment and did not even owe anything, because he disliked the mere administration of property, its cares and distractions, abandoned an estate valued at eight talents and, donning cloak and wallet, took refuge in philosophy and poverty. Anaxagoras also left his land to be grazed over by

<sup>.</sup> Homer, Od. v. 291, 292.

τούτους λέγειν, όπου Φιλόξενος ό μελοποιός έν άποικία Σικελική, κλήρου μετασχών καὶ βίου καὶ οίκου πολλην ευπορίαν έγοντος, όρων δε τρυφην καί ήδυπάθειαν καὶ ἀμουσίαν ἐπιχωριάζουσαν " μὰ τοὺς θεούς," εἶπεν, " ἐμὲ ταῦτα τάγαθὰ " οὐκ ἀπολεῖ. άλλ' έγω ταῦτα καὶ καταλιπών έτέροις τὸν κλη-832 ρου εξέπλευσεν. οι δ' οφείλοντες απαιτούμενοι δασμολογούμενοι δουλεύοντες ύπαργυρεύοντες άνέγονται, καρτερούσιν, ώς ό Φινεύς, Αρπυίας τινάς ύποπτέρους βόσκοντες, αι φέρουσι την τροφήν και διαρπάζουσιν, οὐ καθ' ώραν άλλὰ πρὶν θερισθηναι τον σίτον ωνούμενοι, και πρίν ή πεσείν την έλαίαν άνοράζοντες τούλαιον καὶ "τὸν οίνον ἔχω," φησί, " τοσούτου" και πρόσγραφον έδωκε της τιμης. δ δέ βότους κρέμαται καὶ προσπέφυκεν έτι τὸν άρκτοῦρον ἐκδεχόμενος.

a Cf. Himerius, Eclogues, iii. 18.

# ON BORROWING, 831-832

sheep.a But what need is there of mentioning these men, when Philoxenus the lyric poet, who shared in the allotment of lands in a colony in Sicily, which ensured him a livelihood and a household furnished with abundant resources, when he saw that luxury, indulgence in a life of pleasure, and lack of culture were prevalent there, said, "By the Gods, these good things shall not make me lose myself; I will rather lose them," and leaving his allotment to others, he sailed away. But people in debt are content to be dunned, mulcted of tribute, enslaved, and cheated; they endure, like Phineus, to feed winged harpies which carry off their food and devour it, buying their grain, not at the proper season, but before it is harvested, and purchasing the oil before the olives have been plucked. And "I have wine," says the borrower, "at such and such a price," and he gives his note for its value; but the cluster still hangs clinging on the vine and waiting for the rising of Arcturus.



# LIVES OF THE TEN ORATORS (VITAE DECEM ORATORUM)

# INTRODUCTION

Ar some time in the second century before Christ ten Attic orators were selected, probably by Apollodorus of Pergamum, as the orators whose speeches were most worthy of preservation and study, and this "Canon" of the Ten Attic Orators was generally accepted. The Lives of these orators which are contained in manuscripts of Plutarch's Moralia were certainly not written by Plutarch. They are altogether lacking in the charm which characterizes Plutarch's careful and elaborate style. Facts are stated one after another with little variety and with little or no distinction between mere anecdotes and matters of real importance; but the Lives are of interest on account of their subject matter.

The "decrees" appended to the Lives are, except in some details, fairly accurate copies of official documents (see F. Ladek, Wiener Studien, xiii., 1891, pp. 111 ff.). The two which are concerned with Demosthenes and his family are not really decrees, but petitions addressed to the Senate, copies of which were undoubtedly kept among the official records at Athens, whereas the third—that in honour of Lycurgus—is a decree of the people. A large part of the inscription recording this decree has been found and is published in the Inscriptiones Graecae, it. No. 240 (editio minor, ii. No. 457), Dittenberger, 342

### LIVES OF THE TEN ORATORS

Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum, third edition, No. 326. The text which has been handed down in the manuscripts of Plutarch varies somewhat from that of the inscription, but hardly more than is to be expected. It may well be that whoever appended the "decrees" to the Lives of the orators derived them, not directly from inscriptions or other official documents, but (as suggested by B. Keil in Hermes, xxx. pp. 210 ff.) from the work of Heliodorus On Monuments.

The Lives, with the "decrees," are published by Anton Westermann in his Biographi Graeci (1833 and

1845).

### Α'. ΑΝΤΙΦΩΝ

'Αντιφών Σοφίλου μέν ἢν πατρός τών δέ C δήμων 'Ραμνούσιος μαθητεύσας δὲ τῷ πατρὶ (ἦν γάρ σοφιστής, & καὶ 'Αλκιβιάδην φασίν ἔτι παίδα όντα φοιτήσαι) και δύναμιν λόγων κτησάμενος, ως τινες νομίζουσιν, απ' οἰκείας φύσεως, ώρμησε μέν πολιτεύεσθαι · διατριβήν δέ συνέστησε καὶ Σωκράτει τῷ φιλοσόφω διεφέρετο τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν λόγων διαφοράν ου φιλονείκως άλλ' έλεγκτικώς, ώς Ξενοφών ιστόρηκεν έν τοις 'Απομνημονεύμασι. καί τινας λόγους τοις δεομένοις των πολιτών συνέγραφεν είς τους εν τοις δικαστηρίοις άγωνας πρώτος επί D τοῦτο τραπείς, ὤσπερ τινές φασι· τῶν γοῦν πρὸ αὐτοῦ γενομένων οὐδενὸς φέρεται δικανικὸς λόγος, άλλ' οὐδὲ τῶν κατ' αὐτόν, διὰ τὸ μηδέπω ἐν ἔθει τοῦ συγγράφειν είναι, οὐ Θεμιστοκλέους οὐκ 'Αριστείδου οὐ Περικλέους, καίτοι πολλάς άφορμάς καὶ ἀνάγκας παρασχόντων αὐτοῖς τῶν καιρῶν καὶ γαρ οὐ δι' ἀσθένειαν ἀπελείποντο τοῦ συγγράφειν, ώς δηλον έκ των είρημένων παρά τοῖς συγγραφεῦσι περί ένος έκαστου τῶν προειρημένων ἀνδρῶν. ὅσους μέντοι ἔχομεν ἐπὶ τὸ παλαιότατον ἀναφέροντες ἀπο-Ε μνημονεύσαι την ίδεαν των λόγων ταύτην μεταχειρισαμένους, τούτους εύροι τις αν επιβεβληκότας

<sup>1</sup> πρώτος Meziriacus: πρώτον.

# I. ANTIPHON

ANTIPHON was the son of Sophilus, and his deme was Rhamnus. He was a pupil of his father (for his father was a sophist, and it is said that Alcibiades as a boy attended his school), and having acquired power in speaking-as some think, through his own natural ability-he entered upon a public career. And he set a with Sogrates on tions spirit, but for the sake of argument, as Xenophon has narrated in his Memoirs.a And he wrote some speeches for citizens who wanted them for their suits in the law-courts, being the first who practised this profession, as some say. At any rate no legal oration is extant of any of those who lived before his time, nor of his contemporaries either, because the custom of vet arisen: there is none by or Pericles. although the times afforded them many opportunities and also occasions when such speeches were needed. And it was not for lack of ability that they refrained from such speech-writing, as is evident from what is said by the historians about each of the abovementioned orators. Yet all those whom we are able to record as having practised this kind of speeches. going back to the earliest occurrence, will be found

Xenophon, Memorabilia, i. 6.

(832) 'Αντιφώντι, πρεσβύτη ήδη όντι, οἶον 'Αλκιβιάδην, Κριτίαν, Λυσίαν, 'Αρχίνου.' πρώτος δε και ρητορικάς τέχνας εξήνεγκε, γενόμενος άγχίνους διο καὶ Νέστωρ ἐπεκαλεῖτο.

Καικίλιος δ' ἐν τῷ περὶ αὐτοῦ συντάγματι Θουκυδίδου τοῦ συγγραφέως καθηγητην τεκμαίρεται γεγονέναι εξ ων επαινεῖται παρ' αὐτῷ ὁ 'Αντιφων. ἔστι δ' εν τοῖς λόγοις ἀκριβὴς καὶ πιθανός και δεινός περί την ευρεσιν και έν τοις ἀπόροις τεχνικός καὶ ἐπιχειρῶν ἐξ ἀδήλου καὶ ἐπὶ τους νόμους και τὰ πάθη τρέπων τους λόγους του F εὐπρεποῦς μάλιστα στοχαζόμενος. γέγονε δὲ κατὰ τὰ Περσικὰ καὶ Γοργίαν τὸν σοφιστήν, ολίγω νεώτερος αὐτοῦ· καὶ παρατέτακεν εως καταλύσεως τῆς δημοκρατίας ὑπὸ τῶν τετρακοσίων γενομένης, ην αὐτὸς δοκεί συγκατασκευάσαι, ότε μεν δυσί τριηραρχών ναυσίν ότε δε στρατηγών, και πολλαις μάχαις νικών, καὶ συμμαχίας μεγάλας αὐτοῖς προσαγόμενος, καὶ τοὺς ἀκμάζοντας ὁπλίζων, καὶ

> 1 'Αρχίνον Taylor: ἀρχίνοον. \* καθηγητήν Wyttenbach: μαθητήν.

b In 411 B.c. when for some four months an oligarchy ruled Athens.

The duty of fitting out ships for the navy devolved upon wealthy citizens, who were then called trierarchs.

d Antiphon was a common name at Athens in the fifth century. Blass, Die attische Beredsamkeit, 2nd ed. i.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Cf. Thucydides, viii. 68 ἀνὴρ ᾿Αθηναίων τῶν καθ᾽ ἐαυτὸν άρετη τε οδδενός δεύτερος και κράτιστος ενθυμηθήναι γενόμενος και α γνοίη είπειν, "a man inferior to none of the Athenians of his own day in force of character, and one who had proved himself most able both to formulate a plan and to set forth his conclusions in speech " (Smith's translation, L.C.L.).

# ANTIPHON, 832

to have followed Antiphon when he was already old; I mean such as Alcibiades, Critias, Lysias, and Archinus. He was also the first to publish rules of the art of oratory, being of sharp intellect, and for this reason he was nicknamed Nestor.

And Caecilius, in the treatise he compiled about him, conjectures from the terms in which Antiphon is praised in the work of the historian Thucydides that he was the latter's teacher.a In his speeches he is accurate and persuasive, clever in invention, ingenious in handling perplexing cases; he attacks unexpectedly, and he addresses his arguments to both the laws and the emotions, aiming especially at propriety. He was born at the time of the Persian wars and of the sophist Gorgias, who was somewhat older than he; and his life extended until the destruction of the democracy by the Four Hundred,b in causing which he seems himself to have had a part, at one time by being trierarch of two ships, at another by being general and gaining many victories in battle and winning important alliances for the Four Hundred, by arming the men of military age,

pp. 93 ff., distinguishes, in addition to the orator: (1) a patriotic and worthy citizen (Xenophon, Hell. ii. 3. 40) in defence of whose daughter Lysias wrote a speech, and to whom the military activities belong which are here ascribed to the orator; (2) the tragic poet who was put to death by Dionysius of Syracuse (Aristotle, Rhet. ii. 6. p. 1985 a 9); (3) Antiphon the sophist (Xenophon, Mem. i. 6. 5; 10s. Laert. ii. 5. 25), who is probably the one who practised mental healing at Coriath; (4) the son of Pyrilampus (Plato, Parmenides, 127 a); (5) the sor

833 A); and (6) an Antiphon (Wasps, 1270), as a starveling.

(11 dsps, 1270), as a starvening.

evidently fused several of these personalities with that of the orator.

τριήρεις πληρών έξήκοντα, καὶ πρεσβεύων δ' έκάστοτε ύπερι αυτών είς Λακεδαίμονα, ήνίκα έτε-833 τείχιστο 'Ηετιώνεια." μετά δὲ τὴν κατάλυσιν τῶν τετρακοσίων είσαν γελθείς συν 'Αρχεπτολέμω, ένι των τετρακοσίων, έάλω, καὶ τοῖς περὶ τῶν προδοτών ἐπιτιμίοις ὑπαχθεὶς ἄταφος ἐρρίφη καὶ σὺν τοις εκγόνοις άτιμος άνεγράφη. οί δ' ύπο των τριάκοντα άνηρησθαι αὐτὸν ἱστοροῦσιν, ώσπερ Αυσίας ἐν τῷ ὑπὲρ τῆς ᾿Αντιφῶντος θυγατρὸς λόνω· ένένετο γάρ αὐτῶ θυγάτριον, οῦ Κάλλαισχρος έπεδικάσατο, ότι δ' ύπο των τριάκοντα απέθανεν. ίστορεῖ καὶ Θεόπομπος ἐν τῆ πεντεκαιδεκάτη τῶν Β Φιλιππικών άλλ' ουτός γ' αν είη ετερος. Λυσιδωνίδου πατρός, οδ' καὶ Κρατίνος ἐν Πυτίνη ὡς πονηρού μνημονεύει πως ναρ αν ο προτεθνεώς καί άναιρεθείς ύπο των τετρακοσίων πάλιν έπὶ των τριάκοντα είη; έστι δὲ καὶ άλλος λόγος περὶ τῆς τελευτής αὐτοῦ. πρεσβευτήν γὰρ ὅντα αὐτὸν εἰς Συρακούσας πλεῦσαι, ἡνίκα ἤκμαζεν ἡ τοῦ προτέρου Διονυσίου τυραννίς νενομένης δε παρά πότον ζητήσεως, τίς ἄριστός ἐστι χαλκός, καὶ τῶν πολλῶν διαφερομένων, αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν ἄριστον εἶναι έξ οδ Αρμόδιος καὶ 'Αριστογείτων πεποίηνται τοῦτο δ' άκούσαντα τὸν Διονύσιον καὶ ὑπονοήσαντα προ-

<sup>3</sup> Πετιώνεια Blas: ἡ ἐτεωνἰα ('Hετιωνεία Xylander).
 <sup>3</sup> ἀνεγράφη Westermann: ἐνεγράφη.
 <sup>4</sup> τριάκοντα] υ΄ (i.e. τετρακοσίων) Photius.
 <sup>6</sup> οῦτός γ΄ Taylor: οῦτος τὰ.
 <sup>6</sup> αν εἡ ἔτρος Ταγlor: ἀν ἡμέτερος.

<sup>\*</sup> of added by Sauppe.

a Ettioneia, the mole which formed the northern side of \$48

# ANTIPHON, 832-833

by manning sixty triremes, and by being on every occasion their envoy to Lacedaemon at the time when Eëtioneia had been fortified.a And after the overthrow of the Four Hundred he was indicted along with Archeptolemus, one of the Four Hundred, was found guilty, subjected to the punishments prescribed for traitors, thrown out unburied, and inscribed along with his descendants in the list of the disfranchised. But some tell us that he was put to death by the Thirty,b as Lysias says in his speech in defence of Antiphon's daughter; for he had a daughter whom Callaeschrus claimed in marriage by legal process. And that he was put to death by the Thirty is told also by Theopompus in the fifteenth book of his Philippics o; but that must have been another Antiphon, the son of Lysidonides, whom Cratinus also, in his play The Flask, mentions as a rascal; for how could a man who had died previously and had been put to death by the Four Hundred be living again in the time of the Thirty? But there is also another story of his death: that he sailed as envoy to Syracuse when the tyranny of Dionysius the First was at its height, and at a convivial gathering the question arose what bronze was the best; then when most of the guests disagreed, he said that bronze was the best from which the statues of Harmodius and Aristogeiton were made; and when Dionysius heard this, suspecting that the remark

the great Harbour of Peiraeus, was fortified by the Four Hundred in order to command the entrance.

Müller, Frag. Hist. Graec, i. p. 300.

b In 404 B.c., when Athens was occupied by the Lacedaemonians, a body of Thirty men was appointed to revise the constitution. They seized all power and ruled ruthlessly until overthrown in May 403 B.C.

(833) τροπήν εἰς ἐπίθεσιν εἶναι τὸ ῥηθὲν προστάξαι C ἀναιρεθήναι αὐτόν· οἱ δέ, ὅτι τὰς τραγῳδίας αὐτοῦ διέσυρε γαλεπήναντα.

Φέρονται δὲ τοῦ ρήτορος λόγοι έξήκοντα, ὧν κατεψευσμένους φησί Καικίλιος είναι τούς είκοσιπέντε. κεκωμώδηται δ' είς φιλαργυρίαν ύπὸ Πλάτωνος εν Πεισάνδρω. λέγεται δε τραγωδίας συνθείναι καὶ ίδία καὶ σύν Διονυσίω τῶ τυράννω. έτι δ' ών πρός τη ποιήσει τέχνην άλυπίας συνεστήσατο, ώσπερ τοις νοσούσιν ή παρά των ιατρών θεραπεία ὑπάρχει ἐν Κορίνθω τε κατεσκευασμένος οἴκημά τι παρὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν προέγραψεν, ὅτι δύναται D τούς λυπουμένους δια λόγων θεραπεύειν· καὶ πυνθανόμενος τὰς αἰτίας παρεμυθεῖτο τοὺς κάμνοντας. νομίζων δε την τέχνην ελάττω ή καθ' αύτον είναι έπὶ ρητορικήν ἀπετράπη. εἰσὶ δ' οι καὶ τὸ Γλαύκου τοῦ 'Ρηγίνου περὶ ποιητῶν βιβλίον εἰς 'Αντιφῶντα αναφέρουσιν. έπαινείται δ' αὐτοῦ μάλιστα ὁ περί 'Ηρώδου, εκαὶ ο προς Ερασίστρατον περὶ τῶν ταῶν, καὶ ὁ περὶ τῆς εἰσαγγελίας, ον ὑπὲρ ἐαυτοῦ γέγραφε, καὶ ὁ πρὸς Δημοσθένη τὸν στρατηγὸν παρανόμων. έγραψε δὲ καὶ κατὰ Ἱπποκράτους τοῦ στρατηγοῦ λόγον καὶ είλεν αὐτὸν έξ ἐρήμου.

Ψήφισμα ἐπὶ Θεοπόμπου ἄρχοντος, ἐφ' οδ οί

<sup>1</sup> ἐν Casauhon from Photius: σὐν.

<sup>\* &#</sup>x27;Hρώδου Palmer: 'Hροδότου.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> καὶ ὁ Duebner: καὶ. <sup>4</sup> ταῶν Ruhnken: ἰδεῶν.

εἰσαγγελίας Xylander: ἀγγελίας.
 στρατηγοῦ Westermann: ἰατροῦ στρατηγοῦ (ἰατροί Photius).

# ANTIPHON, 833

was intended to encourage an attack upon himself, he ordered that Antiphon be put to death. But others say that he was angry because Antiphon made

fun of his tragedies.

There are current sixty orations ascribed to this orator, twenty-five of which Caecilius says are spurious. He is ridiculed as a lover of money by Plato in his Peisander.a And he is said to have written tragedies both by himself and in collaboration with the tyrant Dionysius. But while he was still busy with poetry he invented a method of curing distress, just as physicians have a treatment for those who are ill; and at Corinth, fitting up a room near the market-place, he wrote on the door that he could cure by words those who were in distress; and by asking questions and finding out the causes of their condition he consoled those in trouble. But thinking this art was unworthy of him he turned to oratory. There are some who ascribe also to Antiphon the book On Poets by Glaucus of Rhegium.b His most admired orations are the one concerning Herodes, that against Erasistratus about the peacocks, that on the Indictment, which he wrote in his own defence, and that against the general Demosthenes for moving an illegal measure. He wrote also a speech against the general Hippocrates and caused him to be convicted by default.

Caecilius has appended a decree passed in the archonship of Theopompus, the year in which the

b Cf. Müller, Frag. Hist. Graec. ii. p. 23.

Kock, Com. Att. Frag. i. p. 629, no. 103.

c ±11-410 в.с. Caecilius derived his text of the decree from Craterus's collection of decrees. See Harpocration, ε.ν. "Ανδρων and Blass, Die attische Beredsamkeit, 2nd ed., i. p. 99.

Ε τετρακόσιοι κατελύθησαν, καθ' δι έδοξεν 'Αντιφωντα κριθήναι, δ Καικίλιος παρατέθειται·

"Εδοξε" τῆ βουλή μιᾶ καὶ εἰκοστῆ τῆς πρυτανείας Δημόνικος 'Αλωπεκήθεν έγραμμάτενε, Φιλόστρατος Παλληνείςς" ἐπεστάτει "Ανδρων είπε περὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν οὖς ἀποφαίνουσι οἱ στρατηγοὶ πρεσβευομένους εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ἐπὶ κακῷ τῆς πόλεως τῆς 'λθηναίων, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου πλεῖν ἐπὶ πολεμίας νεὼς καὶ πεζεῦσαι

F διὰ Δεκελείας, ᾿Αρχεπτόλεμον καὶ ᾿Ονομακλέα καὶ ᾿Αντιφώντα συλλαβεῦν καὶ ἀποδοῦναι εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον, ὅπως δῶσι δίκην παρασχόντων δ΄ αὐτοὺς οἱ στρατηγοί, καὶ ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς οῦστινας ᾶν δοκῆ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς, προσελομένοις μέχρι δέκα, ὅπως ἄν περὶ παρόντων γένηται ἡ κρίσις. προσκαλεσάσθωσαν δ΄ αὐτοὺς οἱ θεσμοθέται ἐν τῆ αὕριον ἡμέρρ καὶ εἰσαγόντων, ἐπειδὰν αἱ κλήσεις ἐξήκωσιν εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον, περὶ προδοσίας κατηγορεῦν τοὺς ῆρημένους συνηγόρους καὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς καὶ ἀλλους, αν τις βούληται ὅτου δ΄ ἀν καταψηφίσηται τὸ δικαστήριον, περὶ αὐτοῦ ποιεῦν κατὰ τὸν νόμον, ὅς κεῖται περὶ τῶν προδόντων.

834 Τούτω ύπογέγραπται τῷ δόγματι ἡ καταδίκη.

Προδοσίας ὧφλον\* 'Αρχεπτόλεμος 'Ιπποδάμου 'Αγρύληθεν παρών, 'Αντιφῶν Σοφίλου 'Ραμνούσιος παρώντούτοιν ἐτιμήθη τοῖς ἔνδεκα παραδοθήγαι καὶ τὰ χρήματα δημόσια εἶναι καὶ τῆς θεοῦ τὸ ἐπιδέκατον, καὶ τὰ οἰκία! κατασκάψαι αὐτῶν καὶ ὅρους θεῖναι τοῖν οἰκοπέδοιν, ἐπιγράψαντας '' 'Αρχεπτολέμου καὶ ' Αντιφῶντος τοῖν προδόντοιν." τὰ δὲ δημάρχω" ἀποψῆναι τὴν οὐσίαν

έδοξε Reiske: έδοξαν.
 Παλληνεύς Taylor: πελληνεύς.

<sup>1</sup> καθ' δ Dübner: ψήφισμα καθ' δ.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> προσελομένοις Reiske: προσελομένους (προσελόμενοι Emperius).
<sup>5</sup> ήρημένους Turnebus: εἰρημένους, 352

# ANTIPHON, 833-834

Four Hundred were overthrown, according to which the senate voted the trial of Antiphon:

Voted by the senate on the twenty-first day of the prytany. Demonicus of Alopecê was secretary. Philostratus of Pallene was president. Andron moved in regard to the men whom the generals denounce for acting to the detriment of the State of the Athenians while serving as envoys to Lacedaemon and for sailing from the camp in a ship of the enemy and for having passed by land through Deceleia, namely Archeptolemus, Onomacles, and Antiphon, that they be arrested and brought before the court for trial. And the generals, with those members of the senate whom they shall co-opt to the number of ten, are directed to produce them in court, that they may be present at the trial. And the Thesmothetae a shall summon them to-morrow, and when the summonses have been returned to the court, they shall propose that the chosen prosecutors and the generals and others, if anyone so desire, shall accuse them of treason; and whomsoever the court may convict, he shall be treated in accordance with the law which has been passed relating to traitors.

# Under this enactment the judgement is written:

Archeptolemus, son of Hippodamus, of Agrylè, and Antiphon, son of Sophilus, of Rhamnus, both being pesent, were found guilty of treason. The sentence passed upon them was that they be handed over to the Eleven for execution, that their belongings be confiscated and ten per cent thereof be given to the Goddess, that their houses be torn down and boundary-stones be set up on their sites with the inscription "Land of Archeptolemus and Antiphon the two traitors"; and that the two demarchs make a declaration of their

a Six of the annually elected archons; their duties were to administer the courts of justice.

11 τω δε δημάρχω Meier: τῷ δε δημάρχω.
2 A

ἄλλους Turnebus: ἄλλος οτ ἄλλο.
 τούτω Turnebus: τοῦτο.
 τὰ οἰκία Franke: τῷ οἰκία.
 τροδόγτου Dübner: προδόταυ.

(834) αὐτοῖν¹ καὶ μὴ ἐξεῖναι θάψαι ᾿Αρχεπτόλεμον καὶ ᾿Αντιφῶντα ᾿Αθήνησι, μηδ᾽ ὅσης ᾿Αθηναῖοι κρατοῦσι· καὶ ἄτιμον εἶναι ᾿Αρχεπτόλεμον καὶ ᾿Αντιφῶντα καὶ γένος τὸ ἐκ τούτοιν, καὶ νόθους καὶ γνησίους καὶ ἐάν

Β τις ποιήσηταί των των έξ 'Αρχεπτολέμου καὶ 'Αντιφωντος, ἄτιμος ἔστω ὁ ποιησάμενος. ταῦτα δὲ γράψαι ἐν στήλη χαλκή καὶ ἡπερ ἀνάκειται τὰ ψηφίσματα τὰ περὶ Φρυνέχου, καὶ τοῦτο θέσθαι.

# Β', ΑΝΔΟΚΙΔΗΣ

'Ανδοκίδου' τοῦ θεμένου ποτὲ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους εἰρήνην 'Αθηναίοις, τῶν δήμων δὲ Κυδαθήναιος ἢ Θορεύς,' γένους εὐπατριδῶν, ὡς δ' Ἑλλάνικος καὶ C ἀπὸ 'Ερμοῦ· καθήκει γὰρ εἰς αὐτὸν τὸ κηρύκων γένος· διὸ καὶ προεχειρίαθη ποτὲ μετὰ Γλαύκωνος σὺν γαυσὶν εἰκοσι Κερκυραίοις βοηθήσων, διαφερο-

μένοις πρὸς Κορινθίους. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα αἰτιαθεὶς ἀσεβεῖν ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς τοὺς Ἑρμᾶς περικόψας καὶ D εἰς τὰ τῆς Δήμητρος ἀμαρτὼν μυστήρια,<sup>8</sup> [διὰ τὸ

τοῦ ᾿Ανδοκίδου added by Ruhnken.
 Taylor: θουρεύς (Θούριος Bergk).

b See note d below for the source of this error

<sup>1</sup> ἀποφήναι τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτοῖν Westermann: ἀποφήναι τε οἰκίαν ἐς (οτ εἰς) τὸν.

τις added by Blass.
 ἀνάκειται τὰ Reiske: ἄν καὶ τὰ.
 τοῦτο Reiske: τούτον.

<sup>8</sup> The passage in brackets, διά . . . . μυστήρια, was seen by Dübner and Westermann to be a gloss on the preceding words άμαρτὼν μυστήρια,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> The Thirty Years' Peace, by the terms of which Athens gave up Megara and its ports in 446-445 B.c.

# ANTIPHON-ANDOCIDES, 834

property; and that it be forbidden to bury Archeptolemus and Antiphon at Athens or in any place ruled by the Athenians; and that Archeptolemus and Antiphon be attainted, and also their descendants legitimate and illegitimate; and that if anyone shall adopt any descendant Archeptolemus or Antiphon, he who so adopts shall be attainted; and that this be inscribed on a bronze tablet, which shall be set up where the decrees relating to Phrynichus are placed.

### II. ANDOCIDES

Andocides was the son of Leogoras, son of that Andocides who once made peace between the Lacedaemonians and the Athenians a; he was as regards his deme a Cydathenian or a Thorian and was descended from nobles, and even, according to Hellanicus, from Hermes; for the race of heralds traces its origin to him. On this account, too, he was once chosen along with Glaucon to go with twenty ships to aid the Corcyraeans who were embroiled with the Corinthians. And after this he was accused of impiety as being one of those who mutilated the Hermae and as profaning the mysteries of Demeter [because at an earlier time he was

· Cf. Müller, Frag. Hist. Graec. i. p. 55, no. 78.

<sup>4</sup> Gf. Thucydides, i. 51, who seems to have been the source of this error. The colleague of Glaucon on this expedition was Dracontides, son of Leogoras of Thurae, and not Andocides, who at the time, 433 s.c., was too young. See I.G. i. 295 (ed. min.), and Kirchner, Prosopographia Attica, 828 and 4551.

• The Hermae, square pillars surmounted by the head of the god Hermes, stood before the doors of Athenian houses. In 415 s.c., just as the great expedition against Sicily was about to sail, these Hermae were systematically mutilated in

the night by unknown persons.

355

(834) πρότερον ἀκόλαστον ὄντα, νύκτωρ κωμάσαντα. θοαθσαί τι των άγαλμάτων του θεου και είσαγγελθέντα, επειδή οὐκ ήβουλήθη ον εξήτουν οί κατήνοροι δούλον εκδούναι, διαβληθήναι και ποδο την αίτίαν της δευτέρας γραφης υποπτον γενέσθαι. Κορινθίων είσπεμψάντων Λεοντίνους τε καὶ Αίνεσταίους άνδρας, ίδία μελλόντων βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς τῶν 'Αθηναίων, νύκτωρ τους περί την άγοραν Έρμας περιέκοψαν, ως Κράτιππός φησι, προσαμαρτών μυστήρια] κριθείς έπὶ τούτοις απέφυγεν έπὶ τω μηνύσειν τούς άδικοῦντας σπουδήν δέ πασαν είσ-Ε ενεγκάμενος εξεύρε τους περί τὰ ίερὰ άμαρτόντας. έν οίς καὶ τὸν αύτοῦ πατέρα ἐμήνυσε. καὶ τούς μέν άλλους πάντας έλέγξας ἐποίησεν ἀπολέσθαι, τὸν δὲ πατέρα ἐρρύσατο, καίτοι δεδεμένον ήδη, ὑποσχόμενος πολλά λυσιτελήσειν αὐτὸν τῆ πόλει. καὶ οὐκ έψεύσατο ήλεγξε γὰρ ὁ Λεωγόρας πολλούς δημόσια χρήματα σφετεριζομένους καὶ άλλα τινὰ άδικοῦντας. καί διά μέν ταθτα άφείθη της αίτίας.

Οὐκ¹ εὐδοκιμῶν δ' ὁ 'Ανδοκίδης ἐπὶ τοῖς πολιτευομένοις ἐπέθετο ναυκληρία, καὶ τοῖς τε Κυπρίων βασιλεῦσι καὶ πολλοῖς ἄλλοις δοκίμοις ἐπεξενώθη· ὅτε καὶ μίαν τῶν πολιτίδων, 'Αριστείδου θυγατέρα, ἀνεθιὰν οὖσαν αὐτῶ. λάθρα τῶν οἰκείων ἐξαγαγών

1 εζήτουν] εξήτουν Emperius.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Here Westermann marks a lacuna, which he supplies from the Life of Alcibiades, chap. xviii., and the Lexicon of Photius, xv. "Ερμοκοπίδω, about as follows: τους δράσοντας διά τούς Συρακουσίων ἀποίκους δίτας. οὐτο οὖν τῶν ἐν Σικελία. Ἐλλήνων ὑτο τῶν Συρακουσίων κακῶς διατθέντων της Βορθίας δὲ πεμιβάντων Λεοντίνων τε καὶ Αλγεσταίων ἀνδρας, "the Corinthians having sent in] the men who were to do it on account of the Syracusans, who were colonists of Corinth. These men, then, since the Greeks in Sicily were being 356

### ANDOCIDES, 834

dissipated and in a nocturnal revel had broken one of the images of the god, and when he was indicted refused to surrender the slave whom his accusers were looking for, so that he gained a bad name and was suspected and accused in the second suit also. which was brought shortly after the expedition went to Sicily, when the Corinthians sent in men from Leontini and Egesta and, as the Athenians hesitated about aiding them privately, they mutilated the Hermae about the market-place, as Cratippus says. and profaned the mysteries besides]. At his trial on these charges he was acquitted on condition that should inform against the wrongdoers. He exerted himself greatly and discovered those who were guilty of the sacrilege, among whom he informed against his own father. And he brought about the conviction and death of all the others, but saved his father, although he had already been put in prison, by promising that he would be of great service to the city. And he kept his promise; for Leogoras caused the conviction of many men who were embezzling public funds and committing other And for these reasons he was acquitted misdeeds. of the charge.

But Andocides, since his reputation in public life was not good, took to merchandising and became a friend of the Cypriote kings and many other men of note, at which time he abducted a girl of Athenian birth, daughter of Aristeides and his own niece, without the knowledge of her family, and sent her as

oppressed by the Syracusans, and the Leontines and Egestaeans, had sent men to ask for assistance, [as the Athenians . . ."

οὐκ added by Emperius.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> εἰσενεγκάμενος Reiske from Photius: ἐνεγκάμενος.

Ε έπεμψε δώρον τῷ Κυπρίων βασιλεῖ. μέλλων δ' έπι τούτοις είς δικαστήριον εισάγεσθαι πάλιν αὐτὴν έξέκλεψεν από της Κύπρου, και ληφθείς ύπο τοῦ βασιλέως έδέθη διαδράς δ' ήκεν είς την πόλιν, καθ' ον χρόνον οι τετρακόσιοι διείπον τὰ πράγματα. δεθείς δ' ύπο τούτων και διαφυγών, αθθις δπότε κατελύθη ή όλιναρχία, . . . εξέπεσε τῆς πόλεως, των τριάκοντα την άργην παραλαβόντων. οἰκήσας 835 δε τον της φυνής γρόνον εν "Ηλιδι, κατελθόντων των περί Θρασύβουλον, καὶ αὐτός ῆκεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν. πεμφθείς δέ περί της είρηνης είς Λακεδαίμονα καὶ δόξας άδικεῖν ἔφυγε. δηλοῖ δὲ περὶ πάντων έν τοις λόγοις οις συγγέγραφεν οι μέν γάρ άπολογουμένου περί των μυστηρίων είσίν, οί δὲ καθόδου δεομένου. σώζεται δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ περὶ της Ένδείζεως λόνος καί 'Απολογία πρός Φαίακα καὶ πεοὶ τῆς Εἰρήνης. καὶ ἤκμακε μὲν κατὰ τοῦτον τον χρόνον αμα Σωκράτει τω φιλοσόφω άργηδ δ' αὐτῶ τῆς γενέσεως όλυμπιὰς μὲν έβδομηκοστή ογδόη, ἄρχων δ' 'Αθήνησι Θεογενίδης. ώστ' είναι πρεσβύτερον αὐτὸν Λυσίου ἔτεσί που δέκα.3

<sup>1</sup> Dübner, followed by Bernardakis, marks a gap here. <sup>2</sup> ἀρχή Photius: ἄρχει; but οf. Thuc. v. 19. 1.
 <sup>3</sup> δέκα Westermann; ὀκτώ Taylor: ἐκατόν.

a In the summer of 404 s.c. thirty men had been anpointed to draw up laws and manage the state temporarily. They seized all power and ruled like tyrants. Thrasybulus seized the hill-fortress of Phyle in December and maintained his position against two attacks by the Thirty. In May 403 Thrasybulus and his followers seized Peiraeus. 358

# ANDOCIDES, 834-835

a gift to the King of Cyprus. Then, when he was to be brought to trial for this, he stole her back again from Cyprus and was caught and put in prison by the king; but he ran away and came back to Athens at the time when the Four Hundred were in control of affairs. He was put in prison by them, but escaped. and again, when the oligarchy was overthrown, he . . . was banished from the city after the Thirty had taken over the government. He spent the period of his exile in Elis, but when Thrasybulus and his band returned, a he also returned to the city. He was sent to Lacedaemon to negotiate a peace, but was suspected of wrongdoing b and banished. He gives information about all this in the speeches which he wrote; for some of them he composed in his defence in the matter of the mysteries, and others when he was asking to be allowed to return home. There is also extant his speech On the Indictment, also the Defence against Phaeax and the speech On the Peace. He flourished at the same time as Socrates the philosopher; the date of his birth was the seventy-eighth Olympiad, when Theogenides was archone at Athens, so that he was about ten years older than Lysias. The Hermes called the

September the Thirty were overthrown and the democracy

re-established.

b The nature of the accusation cannot be determined. See Blass, Die attische Beredsamkeit, 2nd ed., pp. 293 ff. The oration On the Peace, delivered between 393 and 390 s.c., deals with the terms proposed by the mission in which Andocides participated.

cides participated.

468-467 s.c. This date, however, is based upon a false reckoning, and from the orator's own statements he could not have been born much before 440. See Blass, ibid. i.

p. 283, and Kirchner, Prosop. Att. 828.

(835) τούτου δ' ἐπώνυμός ἐστι καὶ Ἑρμῆς ὁ ᾿Ανδοκίδου Β καλούμενος, ἀνάθημα μὲν ὢν φυλῆς Αἰγηίδος, ἐπικληθεὶς δ΄ ᾿Ανδοκίδου διὰ τὸ πλησίον παροικῆσαι τὸν ᾿Ανδοκίδην. καὶ αὐτὸς δ΄ ἐχορήγησε κυκλίω χορῷ τῆ αὐτοῦ¹ φυλῆ ἀγωνιζομένη διθυράμβω, καὶ νικήσας ἀνέθηκε τρίποδα ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ³ ἀντικρὸ³ τοῦ πωρίνου Σειληνοῦ. ἔστι δ΄ ἀπλοῦς καὶ ἀκατάσκευος ἐν τοῦς λόγοις, ἀφελής τε καὶ ἀσχημάτιστος.

### Γ'. ΛΥΣΙΑΣ

- C Αυσίας νίὸς ἢν Κεφάλου τοῦ Αυσανίου τοῦ Κεφάλου, Συρακουσίου μὲν γένος μεταναστάντος δ' εἰς 'Αθήνας ἐπιθυμία τε τῆς πόλεως καὶ Περικλέους τοῦ Ξανθίππου πείσαντος αὐτόν, φίλου ὅντα καὶ ξένον, πλούτω διαφέροντα' ὡς δέ τινες, ἐκπεσόντα τῶν Συρακουσῶν, ἡνίκα ὑπὸ Γέλωνος ἐπυραννοῦντο, γενόμενος δ' 'Αθήνησω ἐπὶ Φιλοκλέους ἄρχοντος τοῦ μετὰ Φρασικλῆ κατὰ τὸ δεύτερον ἔτος τῆς ὀγδοηκοστῆς ὀλυμπιάδος, ' τὸ μὲν πρῶτον συνεπαιδεύετο τοῦς ἐπιφανεστάτοις 'Αθηναίων' ἐπεὶ D δὲ τὴν εἰς Σύβαριν ἀποικίαν τὴν ΰστερον Θουρίους μετονομασθεῖαν ἔστελλεν ἡ πόλις, ἄχετο σὺν τῷ πρεσβυτάτω ἀδελφῶν Πολεμάρχω (ῆσαν γὰρ αὐτῶ)
  - <sup>1</sup> αύτοῦ Westermann: αὐτοῦ,
  - ὑψηλοῦ] ὑψηλοῦ βάθρου Reiske,
     ἀντικρὺ Bernardakis: ἄντικρυς,
     διαφέροντα Meziriacus: διαφέρων,
  - δ' added by Westermann.
     δλυμπιάδος Meursius: καὶ δευτέρας όλυμπιάδος.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> A decree of the tribe Pandionis in which the orator 360

# ANDOCIDES-LYSIAS, 835

Hermes of Andocides is named after him. It is a dedication of the tribe Aegeïs and is called Hermes of Andocides because Andocides lived near it. He himself supplied the chorus for his tribe <sup>a</sup> when it was competing in a dithyrambic contest, and he gained the victory, for which he set up a tripod on a high spot opposite the limestone Silenus. He is simple and free from artifice in his orations, plain and employing no figures of speech.

#### III. LYSIAS

Lysias was the son of Cephalus, grandson of Lysanias, and great-grandson of Cephalus. His father was by birth a Syracusan but moved to Athens because he wished to live in that city and also because Pericles, son of Xanthippus, persuaded him to do so, as he was a personal friend of Pericles and they were connected by ties of hospitality, and he was a man of great wealth. But some say that he moved because he was banished from Syracuse when Gelo was tyrant. Lysias was born at Athens in the archonship of the Philocles b who succeeded Phrasicles, o in the second year of the eightieth Olympiad, and at first he was a schoolmate of the most prominent Athenians; but when the city sent the colony to Sybaris, which was afterwards renamed Thurii, he went out with his eldest brother Polemarchus (for he had two others,

is named among the victorious choregi is extant, I.G. ii. 1138 (ed. min.); it was with a chorus of boys at the Dionvsia.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>b</sup> 459-458 в.с.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> The archon in 460-459 s.c. was Phrasicleides, not Phrasicles.

- (835) καὶ ἄλλοι δύο, Εὐθύδημος καὶ Βράχυλλος), τοῦ πατρὸς ήδη τετελευτηκότος, ὡς κοινωνήσων τοῦ κλήρου, ἔτη γεγονὼς πεντεκαίδεκα, ἐπὶ Πραξιτέλους ἄρχοντος, κάκεῖ διέμεινε παιδευόμενος παρὰ Τεισία καὶ Νικία τοῖς Συρακουσίοις, κτησάμενός τ' οἰκίαν καὶ κλήρου τυχὼν ἐπολιτεύσατο ἕως Κλεοκρίτου τοῦ ᾿Αθήνησω ἄρχοντος ἔτη ἐξήκοντα τρία. τῶ δ᾽ ἐξῆς Καλλία ὁλυμπιάδι ἐνενηκοστα
  - Ε δευτέρα τῶν κατὰ Σικελίαν συμβάντων 'Αθηναίοις καὶ κινήσεως γενομένης τῶν τ' ἄλλων συμμάχων καὶ μάλιστα τῶν τὴν 'Ιταλίαν οἰκούντων, αἰτιαθεὶς ἀττικίζειν ἐξέπεσε μετ' ἄλλων τριακοσίων. παραγενόμενος δ' 'Αθήνησιν ἐπὶ Καλλίου τοῦ μετὰ Κλεόκριτον ἄρχοντος, ἤδη τῶν τετρακοσίων κατ-

½ Εὐθύδημος Taylor from Plato, Republic, 328 Β: εὔδιδος.
 Βοάγυλλος Xylander: βράχιλλος.

<sup>8</sup> πεντεκαίδεκα] έξκαιδέκατον Photius.

<sup>4</sup> Χ :: :: arising from Τισία.

<sup>6</sup> Ι.Λεοκριτου 1 aylor: Κλεαρχου.

<sup>7 \$6.6 .......</sup> Tarilar

ing the words to ing the mords to its correct. Bernardakis suggests as giving the proper sense το δ έξης έναυτο ἐπ΄ άρχοντος Καλλίου.

<sup>°</sup> τριακοσίων Xylander: τριών.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> The scene of Plato's Republic is laid at the house of Cephalus. The dialogue is not historical, and its imagined date cannot be fixed, but it seems to show that Plato knew Cephalus and his sons, see Blass, Die attische Beredsamkeit, 2nd ed., i. D. 341.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>b</sup> 444-443 в.с.

<sup>413-412</sup> B.C.

### LYSIAS, 835

Euthydemus and Brachyllus), their father being already dead, to share in the allotment of land.a This was in the archonship of Praxiteles. and he was then fifteen years old.º He remained there, was instructed by the Syracusans Teisias and Nicias, acquired a house, had a share of the allotment, and was a citizen for thirty-three years, until Cleocritus was archon at Athens. a But in the next year, when Callias was archon, in the ninety-second Olympiad, when the misfortunes in Sicily f had happened to the Athenians and unrest l illies in general and especially th , he was accused of favouring Athens and, with three hundred others, was banished. Arriving at Athens in the archonship of the Callias o who succeeded Cleocritus, when the Four Hundred already had possession of the city, he re-

4 412-411 s.c. The ninety-second Olympiad is the date of the archonship of another Callias, 406-405 s.c.

h the Athenians had sent out Sicily was utterly annihilated

<sup>.</sup> The dates given by our author for events in the life of Lysias are consistent (see also 835 A above, and 836 r below, of, also Dion. Hal. Isocrates, i.), on the assumption that he went to Thurii when the colony was founded, in 444 B.C. But if that is correct, his activity as a writer of specches to be delivered in the Athenian courts would not begin until his fifty-seventh year. Blass, Die attische Beredsamkeit, 2nd ed., i. p. 345, after stating the evidence, comes to the conclusion that Lysias was born at Athens probably about 446 B.C., the only certain date being his age (fifteen years), when he went to Thurii, and his return to Athens in 413-412 s.c. or the year following. It is quite possible that he did not go to Thurii until some years after the foundation of the colony. The latest of his extant speeches may be dated about 380 B.C., so that we may believe that he diad not land after that date

in the autumn of 413 B.C. # 411-410 B.C.

h Summer of 411 s.c.

εγόντων την πόλιν, διέτριβεν αὐτόθι. της δ' έν Αίνος ποταμοίς ναυμαχίας γενομένης καὶ των τριάκοντα παραλαβόντων την πόλιν, έξέπεσεν έπτά έτη μείνας, άφαιρεθείς την οὐσίαν καὶ τὸν άδελφὸν F Πολέμαρχον· αὐτὸς δὲ διαδράς ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας ἀμφιθύρου ούσης, εν ή εφυλάσσετο ώς απολούμενος διάνεν εν Μενάροις. επιθεμένων δε των άπο Φυλής τη καθόδω, ἐπεί χρησιμώτατος ἀπάντων ώφθη, χρήματά τε παρασχών δραχμάς δισχιλίας καὶ ἀσπίδας διακοσίας πεμφθείς τε σὺν Έρμανι2 έπικούρους έμισθώσατο τριακοσίους, δύο τ' έπεισε τάλαντα δούναι Θρασυδαίον<sup>3</sup> τον 'Ηλείον, Εένον αὐτῷ γεγονότα. ἐφ' οἶς γράψαντος αὐτῷ Θρασυβούλου πολιτείαν μετά την κάθοδον επ' άναργίας της πρό Εὐκλείδου, ο μέν δήμος εκύρωσε την δωρεάν, απενεγκαμένου δ' 'Αρχίνου γραφην παρα-836 νόμων διὰ τὸ ἀπροβούλευτον εἰσαχθήναι, εάλω τὸ ψήφισμα καὶ ούτως ἀπελαθείς τῆς πολιτείας τὸν λοιπόν ὤκησε γρόνον ἰσοτελής ὤν, καὶ ἐτελεύτησεν αὐτόθι ὀγδοήκοντα τρία ἔτη βιούς, ἢ ὧς τινες εξ καὶ έβδομήκοντα, η ως τινες ύπερ ονδοήκοντα.

3 Θρασυδαΐον Photius: θρασύλαιον.

<sup>c</sup> See Lysias, xii. (Against Eratosthenes) 15.

¹ ἐπεὶ] ἔπειτα Franke; ἐκεῖ Westermann; Bernardakis would omit ἐπεἰ.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Έρμῶνι] "Ερμωνι Westermann. Cf. Life of Alcibiades, chap. xxv., Thuc. viii. 92.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> 405 B.C. The Athenian fleet was destroyed by the Lacedaemonians, which virtually ended the Peloponnesian War.

mained there. But when the battle of Aegospotami a had taken place and the Thirty had taken possession of the city, be was banished after having been there seven years. He was deprived of his property and lost his brother Polemarchus, but he himself escaped from the house in which he was kept to be executed (for it had two doors) and lived at Megara. But when the men at Phyled set about their return to Athens, he was seen to be more helpful than anyone else, since he supplied two thousand drachmas and two hundred shields and, when sent with Hermas. hired three hundred mercenaries and persuaded Thrasydaeus of Elis, who had become his guest-friend, to give two talents. For these services Thrasybulus. after the restoration of the exiles to the city and in the period of anarchy before Eucleides, proposed a grant of citizenship for him, and the popular assembly ratified the grant, but when Archinus had him up for illegality because it had not been previously voted by the senate, the enactment was declared void. And after losing his citizenship in this way, he lived the rest of his life at Athens with all the rights of citizenship except the vote and eligibility to office, and died there at the age of eightythree years or, as some say, seventy-six or, as others

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Thrasybulus and his followers, May 303 a.c. After these exiles seized Peiraeus, there was a period of confusion until the democracy was re-established and Eucleides made archon for the year 403-402 a.c.
<sup>4</sup> The Athenians termed any period an "anarchy" in

<sup>\*</sup>The Athenians termed any period an "anarchy" in which no archon could be elected because of party strife.

The Senate or Council of Five Hundred prepared the business for the Popular Assembly, which could not legally yote upon any measure not previously adopted by the Senate.

(836) ίδων Δημοσθένη μειράκιον όντα. γεννηθήναι δέ

φασιν έπὶ Φιλοκλέους ἄρχοντος.

Φέρονται δ' αὐτοῦ λόγοι τετρακόσιοι εἰκοσιπέντε. τούτων γνησίους φασίν οί περί Διονύσιον καί Καικίλιον είναι διακοσίους τριάκοντα καὶ τρεῖς, ἐν οίς δὶς μόνον ήττησθαι λέγεται. ἔστι δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ δο ὑπὲρ τοῦ ψηφίσματος δο ἐγράψατο ᾿Αρχῦνος, Β τὴν πολιτείαν αὐτοῦι περιελών, καὶ κατὰ των

τριάκοντα έτερος. έγένετο δὲ πιθανώτατος καὶ βραχύτατος, τοις ίδιώταις τους πολλους λόγους εκδούς. εἰσὶ δ' αὐτῷ καὶ Τέχναι ρητορικαὶ πεποιημέναι καὶ Δημηγορίαι, Ἐπιστολαί τε καὶ Ἐγκώμια, καὶ Ἐπιτάφιοι καὶ Ἐρωτικοὶ καὶ Σωκράτους Απολογία έστοχασμένη των δικαστών. δοκεί δὲ κατά την λέξιν ευκολος είναι, δυσμίμητος ών. Δημοσθένης δ' έν τω κατά Νεαίρας λόγω έραστην αὐτόν φησι γεγονέναι Μετανείρας, δμοδούλου τῆ Νεαίρα υστερον δ' έγημε Βραχύλλου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ θυγατέρα. μνημονεύει δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ Πλάτων ἐν Ο τω Φαίδρω ως δεινοτάτου είπειν και Ίσοκράτους πρεσβυτέρου. ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν ἐπίγραμμα Φιλίσκος δ 'Ισοκράτους μέν γνώριμος έταῖρος δὲ

8 & added by Taylor.

5 περιελών Taylor: περιέχων.

<sup>1</sup> και τρείς Dübner from Photius: τρία έτη codex F: lacking in the others.

2 of Taylor: ov.

<sup>4</sup> αὐτοῦ Taylor: αὐτῷ.

a Cicero, De Oratore, i. 231, and Diogenes Lacrtius, ii. 20, 40, say that Lysias composed an oration in defence of Socrates, and offered it to him, but Socrates refused it. A speech in defence of Socrates (ὑπὲρ Σωκράτους πρὸς Πολυκράτην) is mentioned several times by the scholiast on Aristeides. It was composed probably some years after 366

say, over eighty; and he lived to see Demosthenes as a youth. They say he was born in the archonship of Philocles.

Four hundred and twenty-five orations attributed to him are current. Of these Dionysius and Caecilius and their school say that two hundred and thirtythree are genuine, and he is said to have lost his case with only two of them. There is also his speech in support of the enactment against which Archinus brought suit and deprived him of citizenship, and another against the Thirty. He was very persuasive and concise and produced most of his speeches for private clients. There are also Textbooks of Rhetoric prepared by him, and Public Addresses, Letters and Eulogies, Funeral Speeches, Love Speeches, and a Defence of Socrates addressed to the judges.a In the matter of his diction he appears to be easy, although in fact he is hard to imitate. b Demosthenes in his speech against Neaera e says that he was in love with Metaneira, a fellow-slave with Neaera; but later he married the daughter of his brother Brachvllus. Plato also mentions him in the Phaedrus d as an able speaker and older than Isocrates. Moreover Philiscus, a pupil of Isocrates and comrade of

the death of Socrates, as an epideictic oration in reply to a similar speech against Socrates by the sophist Polycrates. This is doubtless the speech which Cicero and Diogenes wrongly believed to have been composed for use in the actual trial of Socrates. See Blass, Die attische Beredsamkeit, 2nd ed. i. p. 351.

b Cf. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Αρχαίων κρίσις, v. 1 ως αναγυρνωσκόμενον μεν εύκολον νομίζεσθαι χαλεπόν δε εύμοκεσθαι (" "hen read he is considered easy, but is " " " " " " any who try to imitate him."

d Plato, Phaedrus, 279 A.

(836) Λυσίου, δι' οδ φανερόν ώς προέλαβε τοις ἔτεσιν, δ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπὸ Πλάτωνος εἰρημένων ἀποδείκνυται ἔχει δ' οὕτως.

> νῦν ὧ¹ Καλλιόπης² θύγατερ, πολυηγόρε Φρόντι, δείξεις εἴ τι φρονεῖς καί τι περισσὸν ἔχεις· τὸν γὰρ ἐς ἄλλο σχῆμα μεθαρμοσθέντα καὶ ἄλλοις ἐν κόσμοισι βίου σῶμα λαβόνθ' ἔτερον,

δεῖ σ' ἀρετῆς κήρυκα τεκεῖν τινα Λύσιδα ὑμνεῖν,³ δύντα\* κατὰ φθιμένων καὶ ζόφου\* ἀθάνατον ὅς τό τ'\* ἐμῆς ψυχῆς δείξει' φιλέταιρον ἄπασι,

ος το τ΄ εμης ψυχης δείζει φιλεταίρον απασί, καὶ τὴν τοῦ φθιμένου πᾶσι βροτοῖς ἀρετήν.

συνέγραψε δὲ λόγω<sup>8</sup> καὶ Ἰφικράτει, τὸν μὲν πρὸς ᾿Αρμόδιον, τὸν δὲ προδοσίας κρίνοντι Τιμόθεον· καὶ ἀμφοτέροις ἐνίκα· ἀναδεξαιμένου δὶ Ἰφικράτους τὰς τοῦ Τιμοθέου πράξεις, ταῖς εὐθύναις ἀναλαβών τὴν τῆς προδοσίας αἰτίαν ἀπολογεῖται διὰ τοῦ Λυσίου λόγου· καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ἀπελύθη, ὁ δὲ Τιμόθεος ἐξημιώθη πλείστοις χρήμασιν. ἀνέγνω δὲ καὶ ἐν τῆ ᾿Ολυμπιακῆ πανηγύρει λόγον μέγιστον, διαλλαγέντας τοὺς Ἑλληνας καταλῦσαι Διουύσιον.

¹ νῦν ὧ Jacobs: ὧ.

 <sup>2</sup> Καλλιόπης and Φρόντι Wyttenbach: καλλίππης and φρόντιδι.
 <sup>3</sup> Αύσιδα ὑμνεῦν Bernardakis; Λύσιδι ὑμνον Wyttenbach: λυσιδάϊμνον.
 <sup>4</sup> δύντα Jacobs: δόντα.

δ ζόφου Bernardakis: σοφῷ.
 δ δέξει Brunck: δέξει.
 δ δύγω Meier: λόγον.

' δείξει Brunck: δείξαι. ' λόγω Μ ' ἀμφοτέροις Reiske: ἀμφοτέρους.

Lysis, because the word Lysias is inadmissible in the Greek metre. Wyttenbach suggests that the verses were really written in honour of Lysis the Pythagorean.

b Bergk, Poet, Lyr. Grace, ii. p. 640. Bergk rightly says that this is only part of a longer poem. The fragment does not indicate that Lysias was older than Isocrates, but some Lysias, composed an elegiac poem to him, from which it is plain that he was earlier in years, which is indicated also by what Plato said. The verses are as follows:

Now, O Calliope's daughter endowed with great eloquence. Phrontis,

Show if thy wisdom is aught, if thou hast anything new. Him who is altered and changed to another form, him who in other

Orders and manners of life hath a new body assumed, Thou must bring forth some herald of virtue to celebrate: . Lysis a

Gone to the dead and the gloom, there an immortal to

One who will show unto all the love of my soul for my comrade.

Show, too, the worth of the dead unto the whole of

He also wrote two speeches for Iphicrates, one against Harmodius, the other for use in accusing Timotheüs of treason, with both of which he won his case; but when Iphicrates accepted the responsibility for the actions of Timotheüs, assuming at the rendering of accounts the accusation for treason, he defended himself with the speech by Lysias; and he himself was acquitted, but Timotheüs was very heavily fined. And at the Olympic festival also he read a very great oration urging that the Greeks make peace with one another and overthrow Dionysius.

such statement may have been contained in a later part of the poem.

In 355 s.c. Iphicrates and Timothetis, Athenian generals who had been unsuccessful, were accused by their colleague, Chares, of treason. Although Iphicrates accepted full responsibility, he was acquitted, but Timothetis was fined one hundred talents, which he could not pay. He left Athens and soon died.

d Only a fragment (Or. xxxiii.) of this is extant.

### Λ΄. ΙΣΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ

'Ισοκράτης Θεοδώρου μὲν ἦν παῖς τοῦ 'Ερχιέως τῶν μετρίων πολιτῶν, θεράποντας αὐλοποιούς κεκτημένου καὶ εὐπορήσαντος ἀπὸ τούτων, ώς και χορηγήσαι και παιδεύσαι τούς υίούς ήσαν γάρ αὐτῷ καὶ ἄλλοι, Τελέσιππος καὶ Διόμνηστος. ην δε καὶ θυγάτριον· όθεν εἰς τοὺς αὐλοὺς κεκωμώ-F δηται ὑπ' 'Αριστοφάνους καὶ Στράττιδος. γενόμενος δε κατά την ογδοηκοστήν έκτην ολυμπιάδα Λυσιμάχου Μυρρινουσίου ἄρχοντος, νεώτερος μέν Λυσίου δυσί και είκοσιν έτεσι, πρεσβύτερος δέ Πλάτωνος έπτά, παις μέν ων έπαιδεύετο οὐδενός ήττον 'Αθηναίων, άκροώμενος Προδίκου τε τοῦ Κείου καὶ Γοργίου τοῦ Λεοντίνου καὶ Τεισίου τοῦ Συρακουσίου καὶ Θηραμένους τοῦ ρήτορος οδ καὶ συλλαμβανομένου ύπο των τριάκοντα καὶ φυγόντος έπὶ την Βουλαίαν Εστίαν, απάντων καταπεπληνμένων, μόνος ανέστη βοηθήσων και πολύν χρόνον 837 εσίγησε κατ' άρχάς, έπειτα ύπ' αὐτοῦ παρητήθη, ελπόντος όδυνηρότερον αὐτῷ συμβήσεσθαι, εί τίς των φίλων ἀπολαύσει τῆς συμφοράς καὶ ἐκείνου τινάς ούσας τέχνας αὐτῷ φασι συμπραγματεύσα-

1 'Ερχιέως Reiske from Photius: ἀρχιερέως.

8 Kelov Turnebus: Klov.

<sup>\*</sup> Λυσιμάχου Μυρρινουσίου ἄρχοντος νεώτερος μέν Λυσίου Bernardakis adapting an emendation by Wolf: λυσιμάχου μυρρινουσίου.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Wealthy Athenians performed in turn special services to the state called "liturgies." The most expensive of these was the choregy, which involved the payment, training, and equipment of a chorus for a lyrical or dramatic performance. 370

# ISOCRATES, 836-837

### IV. ISOCRATES

Isocrates was the son of Theodorus of Erchia, a citizen of the middle class, an owner of slaves who made flutes, through whom he gained a competence, so that he paid for a public chorus a and gave his children an education b (for he had other sons, Telesippus and Diomnestus, and also a daughter), and hence he is ridiculed on account of the flutes by Aristophanes and Strattis. Isocrates was born in the eighty-sixth Olympiad, in the archonship of Lysimachus of Myrrhinus, being twenty-two years younger than Lysias and seven years older than Plato.d In his boyhood he was as well educated as any Athenian, for he attended the lectures of Prodicus of Ceos, Gorgias of Leontini, Teisias of Syracuse, and the orator Theramenes; and when the lastnamed was in danger of being arrested by the Thirty and had fled for safety to the altar of Hestia Boulaea,e everyone else was terrified, but Isocrates alone arose to speak in his aid; and at first he was silent for a long time, then afterwards he was urged to be silent by Theramenes himself, who said that his misfortune would be more painful if any of his friends should share it. And it is said that certain rhetorical teachings of Theramenes—those which go under the name of Boton-were of use to Isocrates when he was

о 436-435 в.с.

b See Isocrates, On the Exchange of Property (Or. xv.), 161.

d Plato was born in 428-427 s.c. Lysias, according to this statement, in 459-458. But see note on 835 p above.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>e</sup> The sanctuary of this Goddess of the Senate's Hearth was in or near the Prytaneum, which was somewhere on the northern slope of the Acropolis.

(837) σθαι ήνίκα έν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις έσυκοφαντεῖτο, αί είσιν επινευραμμέναι Βότωνος. επεί δ' ήνδρώθη των μέν πολιτικών πραγμάτων απέσχετο ίσχνόφωνός τ' ών καὶ εὐλαβης τον τρόπον καὶ τὰ πατρώς άποβεβληκώς εν τῷ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους πολέμω. άλλοις δέ μεμελετηκώς φαίνεται, ένα δέ μόνον είπων λόγον, τον περί της 'Αντιδόσεως. διατριβήν Β δε συστησάμενος, επί το φιλοσοφείν και γράφειν ά διανοηθείη<sup>2</sup> έτράπετο, καὶ τόν τε Πανηγυρικόν λόγον καὶ τινας άλλους των συμβουλευτικών, ους μέν αὐτὸς γράφων ἀνεγίνωσκεν οΰς δ' έτέροις παρεσκεύαζεν, ήγούμενος ούτως ἐπὶ τὸ τὰ δέοντα φρονείν τούς "Ελληνας προτρέψεσθαι, διαμαρτάνων δέ της προαιρέσεως, τούτων μέν απέστη σχολής δ' ήγειτο, ως τινές φασι, πρώτον ἐπὶ Χίου, μαθητάς έχων έννέα. ὅτε καὶ ἰδών τὸν μισθὸν ἀριθμούμενον είπε δακρύσας ώς " ἐπέγνων ἐμαυτὸν νῦν τούτοις πεπραμένον." ώμίλει δὲ τοῖς βουλομένοις, χωρίσας πρώτος τους έριστικούς λόγους τών πολιτικών, περί Ο ούς ἐσπούδασε. καὶ ἀρχὰς δὲ καὶ περὶ τὴν Χίον κατέστησε καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν τῆ πατρίδι πολιτείαν. άργυριόν τε όσαν οὐδεὶς σοφιστών εὐπόρησεν, ώς καί τριηραρχήσαι.

'Ακροαταί δ' αὐτοῦ ἐγένοντο εἰς ἐκατόν, ἄλλοι τε' πολλοί καὶ Τιμόθεος ὁ Κόνωνος, σὺν ὧ καὶ

1 μεμελετηκώς Wolf: μεμαρτυρηκώς.
 2 ἄ διανοηθείη Wolf from Dionysius: διανοηθείς.
 3 προτρέψεσθαι Coracs: προτρέψασθαι.
 4 τε Franke from Photius: δὲ.

# ISOCRATES, 837

falsely accused in the courts. But when he became a man he kept away from political affairs, since he had a weak voice and a timid disposition a and had lost his inherited property in the war against the Lacedaemonians. It is evident that he composed speeches for others, but he delivered only one, that on the Exchange of Property. He set up a school and turned to philosophy and to writing out the results of his thinking, and he composed his Festival Oration b and some others of an advisory nature, some of which he delivered himself and some of which he prepared for others to deliver, hoping that in this way he might lead the Greeks to think as they ought. But when he failed of his purpose he gave up that sort of thing and became the head of a school, at first, as some say, at Chios, where he had nine pupils. That was the time when, as he saw the tuition fees counted out, he burst into tears and said, "Now I recognize that I have sold myself to these people." He would carry on conversation with all who desired it and was the first to make a distinction between contentious speeches and those of a political character, to which latter he devoted himself. And he also instituted at Chios public offices and the same constitution which existed in his native city. He made more money than any other sophist, so that he was even a trierarch.c

His pupils numbered about one hundred, including among many others Timotheüs, son of Conon, with

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> See Isocrates, Philip (Or. v.), 81; Panathenaio (Or. xii.), 9.

<sup>\*</sup> i.e. the Panegyric, delivered at ^ • The trierarchy was one of the " citizens were obliged to perform showed wealth.

(837) πολλάς πόλεις ἐπῆλθε, συντιθείς τὰς πρὸς 'Αθηναίους ύπο Τιμοθέου πεμπομένας επιστολάς. όθεν έδωρήσατο αὐτῶ τάλαντον τῶν ἀπὸ Σάμου περινενομένων, εμαθήτευσε δ' αὐτῶ καὶ Θεόπομπος δ Χίος, καὶ "Εφορος δ Κυμαίος καὶ 'Ασκληπιάδης ό τὰ τραγωδούμενα συγγράψας καὶ Θεοδέκτας² ό Φασηλίτης ὁ τὰς τραγωδίας ΰστερον γράψας, οδ έστι το μνήμα έπι την Κυαμιτιν πορευομένοις κατά D την ίεραν όδον την έπ' Έλευσινα, τα νθν κατερηρειμμένον ένθα καὶ τοὺς ἐνδόξους τῶν ποιητων ανέστησαν συν αυτώ, ων "Ομηρος ο ποιητής σώζεται μόνος. Λεωδάμας τ' 'Αθηναίος καὶ Λάκριτος δ νομοθέτης 'Αθηναίοις, ώς δέ τινές φασι καὶ Υπερείδης καὶ Ἰσαῖος. καὶ Δημοσθένη δ' ἔτι ρητορεύοντί φασι μετά σπουδής προσελθείν αὐτώ, καὶ χιλίας μὲν ας εἰσεπράττετο οὐκ ἔχειν φάναι παρασγείν, διακοσίας δέ δώσειν, έφ' ω τε τὸ πέμπτον μέρος εκμαθείν τον δ' αποκρίνασθαι ώς Ε " οὐ τεμαχίζομεν, ὧ Δημόσθενες, τὴν πραγματείαν ωσπερ δέ τους καλούς ίχθυς όλους πωλουμεν, ουτω κάγώ σοι, εί βούλοιο μαθητεύειν, δλόκληρον άπο-δώσομαι τὴν τέχνην."

Έτελεύτα δ' έπὶ Χαιρώνδου ἄρχοντος, ἀπαγγελθέντων τῶν περὶ Χαιρώνειαν ἐν τῆ Ἱπποκράτους

1 καὶ] Ξενοφών ὁ Γρύλλου καὶ Photius.

<sup>2</sup> Θεοδέκτας Capps, cf. I.G. ii. 2325 b: Θεοδέκτης.

\* ἀνέστησαν Westermann: ἀνέστησε.

\* Δ Λωδάμας Westermann and inscriptions; of. Kirchner, Prosop. Att.; Λωδάμας Photius: Λωδάμος.

Dübner: Δημοσθένην στ Δημοσθένης.

μὲν ἃς Coraes: μὲν ἃς μόνας.
 ἐκμαθεῖν Photius: ἐκμάθη.

<sup>8</sup> Χαιρώνδου Meursius: χερωνίδου.

### ISOCRATES, 837

whom he visited many cities: and he composed the letters which Timotheus sent to the Athenians, on account of which Timotheüs presented him with a talent out of the sum remaining after the relief of Samos.a Pupils of his were also Theopompus b of Chios, Ephorus of Cumae, Asclepiades who compiled the arguments of tragedies, and Theodectas of Phaselis, who afterwards wrote tragedies and whose monument stood as you go to the Bean-market along the Sacred Way which leads to Eleusis: it is now in There, too, were set up statues of the famous poets along with his; of these only the poet Homer exists now. And Leodamas the Athenian and Lacritus the Athenian law-maker and, as some say, Hypereides and Isaeus were his pupils. And they say that while he was still teaching oratory Demosthenes came to him eager to learn and said that he could not pay the thousand drachmas which he asked as tuition fee, but would give two hundred for one fifth of the instruction: whereupon Isocrates replied: "We do not cut our instruction into bits, Demosthenes, but just as people sell fine fish whole, so, if you wish to be my pupil, I will sell you my course whole."

He died in the archonship of Chaerondas after hearing in the palaestra of Hippocrates the news of

а 365 в.с

b The text of Photius reads Xenophon the son of Gryllus and Theopompus,

<sup>4 338-337</sup> H.C.

παλαίστρα πυθόμενος, έξαγαγών αύτον τοῦ βίου τέτταρσω<sup>1</sup> ημέραις διὰ τοῦ σιτίων ἀποσχέσθαι, προειπών τρεῖς ἀρχὰς δραμάτων Εὐριπίδου

Δαναδς ὁ πεντήκοντα θυγατέρων πατήρ Πέλοψ ὁ Ταντάλειος εἰς Πίσαν μολών Σιδώνιόν ποτ' ἄστυ Κάδμος ἐκλιπών

Γ ὀκτὼ καὶ ἐνενήκοντα ἔτη βιοὺς ἢ ιὅς τινες ἐκατόν, οὐχ ὑπομείνας τετράκις ίδεῖν τὴν Ἑλλάδα καταδουλουμένην: πρὸ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἢ ιὅς τινες πρὸ τεσσάρων ἐτῶν² τῆς τελευτῆς συγγράψας τὸν Παναθηναϊκόν. τὸν δὲ Πανηγυρικὸν ἔτεσι δέκα συνέθηκεν, οἱ δὲ δεκαπέντε λέγουσιν, δν μετενηνοχέναι ἐκ τῶν³ Γοργίου τοῦ Λεοντίνου καὶ Λυσίου τὸν δὲ περὶ Τορς ᾿Αντιδόσεως δύο καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα ἔτη γεγονώς: τοὺς δὲ πρὸς Φίλιππον ὀλίγω πρότερον τοῦ θανάτου. 838 ἐγένετο δ' αὐτῷ καὶ παῖς ᾿Αφαρεὺς πρεσβύτη ὄντι

τέτταρουν Bernardakis: τέτρασυν.
 ἐτῶν Turnebus: τῶν.
 ἐκ τῶν Reiske: ἐκ τοῦ,

At Chaeronea, fatal to liberty, Killed by report that old man eloquent.

But Isocrates himself, at the end of his third letter, writes to Philip: "But I am grateful to old age for this thing only, that it has continued my life to this point, so that of the things which I meditated in my youth and undertook to write in my Panegyrie Oration and in that which I sent to wrou, I now see some being accomplished through your deeds and hope that others will be accomplished." Apparently he was well pleased with Philip's success. See Blass, Die attische Beredsamkeit, 2nd cd., ii. p. 97.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> This popular story of Isocrates' death is given also by Lucian (?), Macrobioi 23, Pausanias, i. 18, 8, and Plutarch, 838 below. It is made famous by Milton in his tenth sonnet;

# ISOCRATES, 837-838

the battle of Chaeroneia; a and he removed himself from life by abstaining from food for four days. Just before the end he declaimed the opening lines of three dramas of Euripides:

Danaüs of fifty daughters fair the sire,<sup>b</sup> Pelops the Tantalid to Pisa came,<sup>c</sup> Once Sidon's city Cadmus having left.<sup>d</sup>

He died at the age of ninety-eight or, as some say, one hundred years, for he could not endure the sight of Greece enslaved four times. A year (or, as some say, four years) before his end he wrote the Panathenaic Oration; and the Festival Oration he composed ten (but some say fifteen) years before his death. This, the first of Gorgias of the wrote at the age of eighty-two years, and those against Philip shortly before his death. When he was an old man he adopted

· Iphigeneia in Tauris, 1.

of the Macedonians under Philip.

properties, which might transfer the obligation.

b From the Archelaüs; Nauck, Trag. Graec. Frag. p. 427, no. 228.

of From the Phrixus; Nauck, Trag. Graec. Frag. p. 627, no. 819. Blass, Die attische Beredsamkeit, 2nd ed., ii. p. 97,

<sup>\*</sup> Under the Athenian empire in the fifth century, by the Spartans after the Peloponnesian War, by the Thebans under the Athenian and the Macedonians. All these Isocrates in the Athenian and the Athenian and Athenia and Ath

Jbid. pp. 181 ff. If anyone proposed that a certain man be obliged to perform one of the "liturgies" which were required of wealthy Athenians, the man of whom this was required could challenge the proposer to an exchange of

(838) ἐκ Πλαθάνης τῆς Ἱππίου τοῦ ῥήτορος ποιητός, τῶν δέ της γυναικός τριών παίδων ό νεώτατος. εὐπόρησε δ<sup>31</sup> ίκανως ου μόνον αργύριον είσπράττων τούς γνωρίμους, άλλὰ καὶ παρὰ<sup>2</sup> Νικοκλέους τοῦ Κυπρίων βασιλέως, δε ἦν υίδς Εὐαγόρου, εἴκοσι τάλαντα λαβών ύπερ τοῦ πρός αὐτὸν γραφέντος λόγου εφ' οίς φθονηθείς τρίς προεβλήθη τριηραρχείν, και δίς μεν ασθένειαν σκηψάμενος διά τοῦ παιδός παρητήσατο, τό δὲ τρίτον ὑποστὰς ἀνήλωσεν οὐκ όλίγα. πρός δὲ τὸν εἰπόντα πατέρα ώς οὐδὲν ἀλλ' ἢ ἀνδράποδον συνέπεμψε τῷ παιδίῳ " τοιγαροῦν " ἔφη " ἄπιθι· δύο γὰρ ἀνθ' ἐνὸς ἔξεις Β ἀνδράποδα." ήγωνίσατο δὲ καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ Μαυσώλω τεθέντα δπ' 'Αρτεμισίας άγωνα το δ' έγκώμιον ου σώζεται. ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ εἰς Ἑλένην ἐγκώμιον καὶ ᾿Αρεοπανιτικόν. ἐξελθεῖν δὲ τοῦ βίου οἱ μὲν έναταϊόν φασι σίτων αποσχόμενον, οί δε τεταρταΐον αμα ταις ταφαίς των εν Χαιρωνεία πεσόντων. συνέγραψε δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ παῖς 'Αφαρεὺς λόγους. έτάφη δὲ μετὰ τῆς συγγενείας πλησίον Κυνοσάργους έπὶ τοῦ λόφου ἐν ἀριστερᾶ αὐτός τε καὶ ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ Θεόδωρος καὶ ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ· ταύτης τ' ἀδελφὴ τηθὶς τοῦ ῥήτορος 'Ανακώ καὶ ὁ ποιητὸς Ο υίδς 'Αφαρεύς και δ ανεψιός αυτοῦ Σωκράτης,

<sup>1</sup> εὐπόρησε δ' Coraes with Photius: εὐπόρησεν.
2 παρὰ Coraes with Photius: τὰ παρὰ.
3 τριηραρχεῖν Photius; τριήραρχος Turnebus: τριήρας.
4 καὶ δἰς Μεziriacus with Photius: καὶ τὸ δἰς.

ύποστὰς Coraes: ἀναστὰς.
 ἐν added by Turnebus.
 αὐτός Reiske: ὁ νός.

### ISOCRATES, 838

Aphareus, the youngest of the three sons of Plathanê. daughter of the orator Hippias. He acquired ample wealth, for he not only collected money from his pupils, but he also received from Nicocles, king of Cyprus, who was the son of Evagoras, twenty talents for the oration written in his honour. of his wealth he was envied and was proposed three times as trierarch. Twice he alleged illness and was exempted by petitions presented by his son, but the third time he undertook the duty and spent no small sum. To a father who said that he gave his son only a slave as companion he said, "Go your ways, then, for you will have two slaves instead of one." took part also in the competition offered by Artemisia in honour of Maussolus, a but his Eulogy is not extant. He wrote also a Eulogy of Helen and a speech called the Areopagitic. He departed this life some say on the ninth day of his abstention from food, others on the fourth day at the time of the funeral of those who fell at Chaeroneia. His son Aphareus also wrote speeches. Isocrates was buried with his family near Cynosarges b on the left side of the hill-he himself, his father Theodorus, and his mother; and her sister Anaco, the orator's aunt, and his adopted son Aphareus, and his cousin Socrates, son of Anaco

a Mausolus ruler of Halicarnassus, died in 353 n.c. His widow, Artemisia, caused eulogies to be written in competion by Greek orators and completed the magnificent tomb which he had, apparently, begun. This magnificent building—the Mausoleum—was designed by Greek architects and decorated by famous Greek sculptors. The remains of the of Maussolus and Artemisia y prized possessions of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>b</sup> Cynosarges was a region in Athens in which was a great gynnasium.

(838) μητρος 'Ισοκράτους άδελφης 'Ανακοῦς υἰὸς' ἄν, ὅ τ' ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ ὁμώνυμος τοῦ πατρὸς Θεόδωρος καὶ οἱ υἰωνοὶ αὐτοῦ, τοῦ ποιηθέντος αὐτῶ παιδὸς 'Αφαρέως, 'Αφαρεώς καὶ ὁ τούτου πατηρ Θεόδωρος η΄ τε γυνὴ Πλαθάνη, μήτηρ δὲ τοῦ ποιητοῦ 'Αφαρέως.' ἐπὶ μὲν οῦν τούτων τράπεζαι ἐπήσαν ἔξ, αὶ νῦν οὐ σώζονται αὐτῷ δ' 'Ισοκράτει ἐπὶ τοῦ μνήματος ἐπὴν κίων' τριάκοντα πηχῶν, ἐφ' οῦ σειρὴν πηχῶν ἐπτὰ συμβολικῶς, δς νῦν οὐ σώζεται. ἡν δὲ D καὶ αὐτοῦ τράπεζα πλησίον ἔχουσα ποιητάς τε καὶ τοὺς διδασκάλους αὐτοῦ, ἐν οἶς καὶ Γοργίαν εἰς σφαῖραν ἀστρολογικὴν βλέποντα αὐτού τε τὸν 'Ισοκράτην παρεστώτα. ἀνάκειται δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν Ἑλευσῖνι εἰκών χαλκῆ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ προστώνου ὑπὸ Τιμοθέου τοῦ Κόνωνος, καὶ ἐπιγέγραπται

Τιμόθεος φιλίας τε χάριν ξύνεσιν τε προτιμών Ἰσοκράτους εἰκὼ τήνδ' ἀνέθηκε θεαίς·

Λεωχάρους ἔργον.
Φέρονται δ' αὐτοῦ λόγοι ἐξήκοντα, ὧν εἰσι 
γνήσιοι κατὰ μὲν Διονύσιον εἰκοσιπέντε κατὰ δὲ 
Καικίλιον εἰκοσιοκτώ, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι κατεψευσμένοι. 
εἶχε δ' ἀλλοτρίως πρὸς ἐπίδειξιν, ὡς ἀφικομένων 
Ε ποτὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν τριῶν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκρόασιν τοὺς μὲν 
δύο κατασχεῖν τὸν δὲ τρίτον ἀπολῦσαι, φάμενος εἰς 
τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἤξειν· νῦν γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸ θέατρον εἶναι 
ἐν ἀκροατηρίω. εἰώθει δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς γνωρίμους 
αὐτοῦ λέγειν, ὡς αὐτὸς μὲν δέκα μνῶν διδάσκοι, 
τῷ δ' αὐτὸν διδάξαντι τόλμαν καὶ εὐφωνίαν δώσειν

1 'Ανακοῦς υίὸς Turnehus: ἀνακούσιος.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> 'Αφαρεύς . . . τοῦ ποιητοῦ 'Αφαρεώς bracketed by Dübner; Bernardakis marks a lacuna after 'Αφαρεύς.

### ISOCRATES, 838

Plathanê, mother of the adopted son Aphareus. And over them there were six tablets which do not now exist. On the monument of Isocrates himself was a column thirty cubits high, on which was a siren seven cubits high as a symbol; but this exists no longer. There was also a tablet near by with poets and his instructors on it, among whom was Gorgias gazing into an astrological sphere and Isocrates standing beside him. There is also a bronze statue of him, dedicated by Timotheüs, son of Conon, at Eleusis in front of the vestibule. It bears this inscription:

Here to the goddesses twain Timotheüs giveth this statue . Tribute to friend and to sage, image of Isocrates,

It is a work of Leochares.

Sixty orations are current under his name, of which twenty-five are genuine according to Dionysius, twenty-eight according to Caecilius, and the rest are spurious. He was averse to public declamation, so much so that once, when three persons came to hear him, he retained two but let the third go, telling him to come the next day, since now the lecture-room had a full audience. And he used to say to his pupils that he himself gave instruction for ten minas, but would give ten thousand to anyone who would teach him self-confidence and a pleasant voice. And when he

<sup>\*</sup> κίων Bernardakis: κριῶν (κιὼν Turnebus).
\* ξύνεσιν Dübner: ξενίην.

<sup>\*</sup> ἀκροατηρίω Wolf: ἀκρωτηρίω.

# PLUTARCH'S MORALIA δεκακισγιλίας. καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἐρόμενον διὰ τί οὐκ

ών αὐτὸς ίκανὸς ἄλλους ποιεί, εἶπεν ὅτι καὶ αί

άκόναι αὐταὶ μὲν τέμνειν¹ οὐ δύνανται τὸν δὲ Ε σίδηρον τμητικόν ποιούσιν. είσι δ' οι και τέγνας αὐτον λέγουσι συγγεγραφέναι, οί δ' οὐ μεθόδω άλλ' ασκήσει χρήσασθαι. πολίτην δ' οὐδέποτ' εἰσέπραξε μισθόν, προσέταττε δε τοις γνωρίμοις είς τας έκκλησίας απαντώσιν αναφέρειν αὐτῷ τὰ εἰρημένα, έλυπήθη δέ και οὐ μετρίως ἐπὶ τῶ Σωκράτους θανάτω καὶ μελανειμονών τη ύστεραία προήλθε. πάλιν δ' ερομένου τινός αὐτον τί ρητορική, είπε τὰ μὲν μικρὰ μεγάλα τὰ δὲ μεγάλα μικρὰ έστιώμενος δέ ποτε παρά Νικοκρέοντι τῶ Κύπρου τυράννω, προτρεπομένων αὐτὸν τῶν παρόντων διαλεχθήναι, έφη " ofs μεν έγω δεινός ούχ ό νῦν καιρός, ofs δ' ό νῦν καιρός οὐκ έγω δεινός." Σοφοκλέα δε τον τραγικόν θεασάμενος έπόμενον έρωτικώς παιδί, είπεν "ου μόνον δεί, 839 Σοφόκλεις, τὰς χείρας έχειν παρ' αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ δὲ Κυμαίου Ἐφόρου άτούς οφθαλμούς. πράκτου της σχολης έξελθόντος και πάλιν ύπο τοῦ πατρός Δημοφίλου πεμφθέντος ἐπὶ δευτέρω μισθῶ, παίζων Δίφορον αὐτον ἐκάλει ἐσπούδασε μέντοι ίκανως περί τον άνδρα και την υπόθεσιν της χρείας αὐτὸς ὑπεθήκατο. ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἀφροδίσια καταφερής, ώς ύποπάστω παρειλκυσμένω έν τῆ κοίτη χρησθαι, κρόκω διάβροχον έχοντα το

Coraes from Photius: τεμεῖν.
<sup>2</sup> Δίφορον Amyot: δίφρον.

a Cf. Moralia, 613 A.

b Attributed to Pericles by Plutarch, Life of Pericles, chap. viii., and Cicero, De Officiis, i. 40. 144.

# ISOCRATES, 838-839

was asked how he, not being a good speaker himself. could make others so, he replied that whetstones cannot themselves cut, but make iron fit to do so. Some say that he also wrote textbooks of oratory, others that in his teaching he made use of practice. not of method. He never demanded a fee from a fellow-citizen. When his pupils went to meetings of the assembly, he told them to report to him what was said there. He was greatly grieved by the death of Socrates, and the next day he appeared in black clothing. And again, when someone asked him "What is oratory?" he said, "the art of making small things great and great things small." And once when he was a guest at a banquet in the house of Nicocreon, despot of Cyprus, and some of those present urged him to discourse, he said, " for subjects in which I am competent this is not the time: in the subjects for which this is the time I am not competent." a When he saw the tragic poet Sophocles amorously following a boy, he said, "Sophocles, we must not only keep our hands to ourselves, but our eyes as well." b And when Ephorus of Cumae had left his school without learning anything and had been sent back by his father with a second tuition-fee, he called him in fun Diphorus (Twice-bringer); he took, however, great pains with him and even suggested to him the subject of his work. He showed himself also prone to sexual indulgence; he used an additional mattress beside him on his bed and kept his

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>c</sup> The great work of Ephorus was a history of the world (primarily of Greece) from the return of the Heracleidae to the siege of Perinthus in 340 a.c. From this work Plutarch and others derived much of their information. Ephorus was born early in the fourth century and died about 320 a.c.

(839) προσκεφάλαιον. καὶ νέον μὲν ὅντα μὴ γῆμαι, Β γηράσαντα δ' έταίρα συνείναι ή ὄνομα ήν Λαγίσκη, έξ ής ἔσχε θυγάτριον ο γενόμενον ἐτῶν δώδεκα προ γάμων έτελεύτησεν. έπειτα Πλαθάνην την Ίππίου τοῦ ρήτορος γυναῖκα ηγάγετο τρεῖς παίδας ἔχουσαν, ών τον Αφαρέα ώς προείρηται εποιήσατο, ος καί εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ χαλκῆν ἀνέθηκε πρὸς τῷ 'Ολυμπιείω<sup>1</sup> έπὶ κίονος καὶ ἐπέγραψεν

> 'Ισοκράτους 'Αφαρεύς πατρός εἰκόνα τήνδ' ἀνέθηκε

Ζηνί, θεούς τε σέβων καὶ γονέων ἀρετήν.

C λέγεται δὲ καὶ κελητίσαι ἔτι παῖς ὤν· ἀνάκειται γάρ ἐν ἀκροπόλει χαλκοῦς ἐν τῆ σφαιρίστρα τῶν Αρρηφόρων κελητίζων έτι παις ών, ώς είπόν τινες. δύο δ' εν απαντι τῷ βίφ συνέστησαν αὐτῷ άγωνες πρότερος μέν είς άντίδοσιν προκαλεσαμένου αὐτον Μεγακλείδου, προς ον οὐκ ἀπήντησε διά νόσον, τον δ' υίον πέμψας 'Αφαρέα ενίκησε. δεύτερος δε Λυσιμάχου αὐτον προκαλεσαμένου περί τριηραρχίας είς άντίδοσιν ήττηθείς δέ τὴν τριηραρχίαν ὑπέστη. ἡν δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ γραπτή εἰκών ἐν τῶ Πομπείω. ὁ δ' 'Αφαρεύς συνέγραψε μεν λόγους ου πολλούς δέ, δικανικούς τε καὶ συμβουλευτικούς. ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ τραγωδίας περὶ ἐπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα,

<sup>1 &#</sup>x27;Ολυμπιείω Wyttenbach: όλυμπίω ώς. <sup>2</sup> κελητίσαι Turnebus: κερητίσαι. 3 κελητίζων Turnebus: κερητίζων.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Graec. ii. p. 329. The column and statue existed in the time of Pausanias (Paus. i. 18, 8). A bust in the Villa Albani in Rome may be a late copy of the head of this statue or, more probably, since Leochares was a famous sculptor, of the statue at Eleusis mentioned above.

# ISOCRATES, 839

pillow wet with saffron. And when he was young he did not marry, but in his old age he kept a mistress named Lagisce, by whom he had a daughter who died unmarried at twelve years of age. Then he married the daughter of the orator Hippias, Plathane, who had three sons, one of whom, Aphareus, as has been said above, he adopted. This Aphareus dedicated a bronze statue of him near the Olympicium on a column with the inscription:

Aphareus set up this statue his father Isocrates' image, Sacred to Zeus, to exalt gods and his ancestors' worth.

And it is said that he rode a horse in a race when he was still a boy; for a bronze figure of him as a boy riding a horse is set up on the Acropolis in the ballground of the Arrhephoroi, b as some have said. In all his life but two lawsuits were brought against him : first ... . Af to an exchange of pr ourt in this suit. because he was ill, but sent his son Aphareus and won his case. The second suit was when Lysimachus challenged him to exchange property in connexion with the trierarchy; and this case he lost and performed the trierarchy. There was also a painted portrait of him in the Pompeium.d Aphareus wrote speeches, both juridical and deliberative, but not many. He also composed about thirty-seven tragedies, but the authorship of two of them is contested.

b This seems to have been situated near the north-west wall of the Acropolis, west of the Erechtheum: of Judeich, Topographie von Athens, p. 283. Two maidens were chosen each year to carry the peplos at the Panathenaic festival and were called Arrephoroi.
° See note on 837 F.

<sup>d</sup> The Pompeium was just inside the Dipylon gate, at which point the processions began. It was the storehouse

for objects used in processions.

D ὧν ἀντιλέγονται δύο. ἀρξάμενος δ' ἀπό Λυσι(839) στράτου διδάσκειν ἄχρι Σωσιγένους ἐν ἔτεσιν 
εἰκοσιοκτὼ διδασκαλίας ἀστικὰς καθῆκεν ἔξ καὶ 
δὶς ἐνίκησε διὰ Διονυσίου, καθείς καὶ δι' ἐτέρων 
¹Ισοκράτους καὶ Θεοδώρου καὶ τῆς ταύτης ἀδελφῆς 'Ανακοῦς' εἰκόνες ἀνέκειντο ἐν ἀκροπόλει· ὧν 
ἡ τῆς μητρὸς παρὰ τὴν 'Γ΄γίειαν νῦν κεῦται μετεπιγεγραμμένη, ἡ δ' ᾿Ανακοῦς' οὐ σῷζεται. ἔσχε 
δὲ δύο νίούς, 'Αλέξανδρον μὲν ἐκ Κοίνου' Σωσικλέα' δ' ἐκ Λυσίου.

### Ε', ΙΣΑΙΟΣ

Ε 'Ισαΐος Χαλκιδεύς μέν ήν τὸ γένος, παραγενόμενος δ' εἰς 'Αθήνας, καὶ σχολάσας' . . . Λυσία κατά τε τὴν τῶν ὀνομάτων ἀρμονίαν καὶ τὴν ἐν τοις πράγμασι δεινότητα, ἄστ' εἰ μή τις ἔμπειρος πάνυ τοῦ χαρακτήρος τῶν ἀνδρῶν εἶη, οὐκ ἂν διαγνοίη

1 'Avakoûs Xylander: vakoûs.

Kolvov Reiške: Κοινοῦς.
 Σωσικλέα Turnebus: οὐσικλέα (Λυσικλέα Dübner).

 σχολάσας | Bernardakis, following Westermann and Dübner, marks a gap to be filled with the name of Isocrates and other words, e.g. Ἰσοκράτει, φαίνεται ἀκολουθήσας Λυσία (οι ζηλήσας Λυσίαν).

\* 369-368 s.c. \* 342-341 s.c.

The City or Greater Dionysia were celebrated in March, the Rural or Lesser Dionysia in the various demes of Attica

386

<sup>•</sup> When a poet (δεδάσκολος) wished to avoid the labour of presenting a play he could delegate the management to a hypodidascalus, another poet experienced in such matters. We have many instances of this practice in the didascalic notices, notably in the case of Aristophanes.

# ISOCRATES—ISAEUS, 839

Beginning in the archonship of Lysistratus a he presented in the twenty-eight years to the archonship of Sosigenes b six series of dramas at the City Dionysia and won the prize twice, Dionysius as his manager, and, other poets managing, he presented two other series at the Lenaean festival.4 There were statues of the mother of Isocrates and Theodorus and of her sister Anaco set up on the Acropolis; of these the statue of the mother is now placed, with a changed inscription, near that of Hygieia, but the statue of Anaco is gone. She had two sons, Alexander by Coenus, and Sosicles by Lysias.

### V. ISAEUS

Isaeus was a Chalcidian by birth, but came to Athens and went to school to Isocrates. He resembled Lysias f in his melodious diction and in his skilful arrangement and treatment of the subject matter in his speeches, so that unless a person were thoroughly familiar with the characters of the two men, he could not easily tell to which of the orators

in December, and the Lenaean festival in December. At all of these dramas were performed, but new tragedies were not produced at the Rural Dionysia, and for a time the same was true of the Lenaean festival. A series of dramas comprised three tragedies and a satyr drama. The two prizes of Aphareus are recorded in an inscription, I.G. ii.2 2325 b (ed. min.).

 Statues erected to honour one person were not infrequently transferred to another by changing the inscriptions. Dio Chrysostom in his Oration to the Rhodians condemns this practice.

† Cf. Dion. Hal. Do Isaeo Iudicium, 2 χαρακτῆρα δὲ Λυσίου κατὰ τὸ πλεῖστον ἐζήλωσε, "he emulated in the highest degree the character of Lysias."

πολλούς τῶν λόγων ῥαδίως ὁποτέρου τῶν ῥητόρων εἰσίν. ἤκμασε δὲ μετὰ τὸν Πελοποννησιακὸν πόλεμον, ὡς ἐστι τεκμήρασθαι ἐκ λόγων αὐτοῦ, καὶ Ἡ μέχρι τῆς Φιλίππου ἀρχῆς παρέτευε. καθηγήσατο δὲ Δημοσθένους, ἀποστὰς τῆς σχολῆς, ἐπὶ δραχμαῖς μυρίαις: διὸ καὶ μάλιστα ἐπιφανὴς ἐγένετο. αὐτὸς δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐπιτροπικούς λόγους συνέταττε τῷ Δημοσθένει, ὡς τινες εἶπον. καταλέλοιπε δὲ λόγους ἐξήκοντα τέσσαρας, ὡν εἰσι γνήσιοι πεντήκοντα, καὶ ἰδίας τέχνας. πρῶτος δὲ καὶ σχημαπίζειν ἤρξατο καὶ τρέπειν ἐπὶ τὸ πολιτικὸν τὴν διάνοιαν ὁ μάλιστα μεμίμηται Δημοσθένης. μνημονεύει δ' αὐτοῦ Θεόπομπος ὁ κωμικὸς ἐν τῷ Θησεῖ.

#### S'. AIEXINHE

Αἰσχίνης 'Ατρομήτου, φυγόντος μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν τριάκοντα συγκαταγαγόντος δὲ τὸν δημον, καὶ Γλαυκοθέας τῶν δὲ δήμων Κοθωκίδης, οὕτε κατὰ γένος τῶν ἐπιφανῶν οὕτε κατὰ περιουσίαν χρημάτων. νέος δ' ὧν καὶ ἐρρωμένος τῷ σώματι περὶ τὰ γυμνάσια ἐπόνει· λαμπρόφωνος δ' ὧν μετὰ ταῦτα τραγωδίαν ἤοκησεν· ὡς δὲ Δημοσθένης φησίν, ὑπογραμματεύων καὶ τριταγωνιστῶν 'Αριστοδήμω

840

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> See below, Demosthenes, 844 B.

Blass, Die attische Beredsamkeit, 2nd ed., ii. p. 499, interprets this as referring to figures of thought (construing την διάνοιαν with σχηματίζεω). Of. 835 в вирга ἀσχημάτιστος of Andocides.

º Cf. Kock, Com. Att. Frag. i. p. 737, no. 18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> A catalogue of the tribe Oeneis, I.G.<sup>2</sup> 2408, gives his full name; <sup>λ</sup>Λτρόμητος Λίσχίνου Κοθοκίδης. It gives also the name of Aeschines' son <sup>λ</sup>Λτρόμητος.

# ISAEUS—AESCHINES, 839-840

many of the speeches belong. He was in his prime after the Peloponnesian War, as may be inferred from his speeches, and lived until the reign of Philip. He taught Demosthenes, ont at his school, but privately, for ten thousand drachmas, whereby he acquired great distinction. And he himself composed for Demosthenes the speeches against his guardians, as some said. He has left behind him sixty-four speeches, fifty of which are genuine, and some rules of rhetoric of his own. He was also the first to give artistic form to his speech and to turn his attention to the urbane style of the orator; in which Demosthenes has closely imitated him. Theopompus the comic playwright mentions him on the Theseus.

# VI. AESCHINES

Aeschines was the son of Atrometus, who was exiled in the time of the Thirty and helped to restore the democracy, and of Glaucothea. He belonged to the demo of the Cothocidae and was not of distinguished family or great wealth. When he was young and physically strong he worked hard in the gymnasia; and afterwards, since he had a clear voice, he practised tragedy; and according to Demosthenes he was for a long time under-secretary and regularly played as a third-rate actor with Aristodemus at the

<sup>•</sup> Demosthenes, xviii. 261; xix. 246. The festivals in question are those held in the small towns of Attica. Aristodemus was one of the most noted tragic actors of his time. Born at Mctapontum, he was granted Athenian citizenship and was one of the envoys (among whom were Acschines, Demosthenes, and Philocrates) who made the peace of Philocrates with Philip in 346 ac.

(840) ἐν τοῖς Διονυσίοις διετέλει, ἀναλαμβάνων ἐπὶ σχολῆς Β τὰς παλαιὰς τραγψδίας. καὶ ἔτι παῖς ὢν ἐδίδασκε γράμματα σὺν τῷ πατρί, καὶ μειράκιον ὢν ἐστρατεύετο εν τοις περιπόλοις. άκροατής δε γενόμενος ώς μέν τινες λέγουσιν 'Ισοκράτους καὶ Πλάτωνος. ώς δὲ Καικίλιος Λεωδάμαντος, καὶ πολιτευόμενος οὐκ ἀφανῶς ἐκ τῆς ἐναντίας μερίδος τοῖς περὶ ύπερ της ειρήνης εφ' ή κατ-

ηγορήθη ύπο Δημοσθένους ώς άνηρημένου τοῦ Φωκέων έθνους, έτι δ' ώς πόλεμον έξάψας, ήνίκα πυλαγόρας ήρέθη 'Αμφικτύοσι πρός 'Αμφισσείς τους τον λιμένα έργαζομένους εξ ου συνέβη τους Ο 'Αμφικτύονας Φιλίππω προσφυγείν, τὸν δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ Αλαχίνου συνεργούμενον επιθέσθαι τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ τὴν Φωκίδα λαβεῖν άλλὰ συνειπόντος αὐτῶ

Εὐβούλου τοῦ Σπινθάρου Προβαλλουσίου δημαγωγοῦντος, τριάκοντα ψήφοις ἀπέφυγεν. εἰσὶ δ' οϊ φασι συγγράψαι μέν τους ρήτορας τους λόγους, έμ-

<sup>2</sup> κατηγαρήθη Reiske from Photius: κατηγορηθείς.

a ws added by Dübner.

4 τούς . . . έργαζομένους Wolf: καὶ (ώς Emperius) τον λιμένα

έργαζομένοις.

5 Προβαλλουσίου | Προβαλουσίου Photius: Προβαλεισίου Westermann: cf. Demosthenes, lix. (Against Negera) 48, 123,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> περιπόλοις Hemsterhuis from Aeschines, False Legation, § 167 : πολλοῖς.

More accurately in Photius, the dramatic festivals held in the small towns of Attica. For the ancient accounts of Aeschines' career as an actor see O'Connor, Actors and Acting in Ancient Greece, pp. 74 ff. Kelly Rees, The Rule of Three Actors in the Classical Greek Drama, pp. 31 ff., has shown that the term "tritagonist" was invented by Demosthenes as an opprobrious epithet and it is applied in antiquity 390

### AESCHINES, 840

Dionysiac festivals, a repeating the old tragedies b in his spare time. And while still a child he helped his father to teach letters, and as a young man he served in the patrol of the frontiers. After studying with Isocrates and Plato, as some say, but with Leodamas according to Caecilius, he was prominent in public life in the party opposed to that of Demosthenes, and was sent on many embassies, among them the one to Philip concerning the peace. For this he was accused by Demosthenes of having destroyed the Phocian nation and moreover of having stirred up war between the Amphissians, who were building the harbour when he was chosen as delegate to the Amphictyonic Council, and the Amphictyons; as a result of which the Amphictyons turned to Philip for protection, and he, assisted by Aeschines, took matters in hand and conquered Phocis. But through the aid of Eubulus, son of Spintharus, of the deme of Probalinthus, who spoke publicly in his behalf, he was acquitted by thirty votes; but some say that though the orators composed their speeches, vet

to no other actor than Aeschines; also that it meant, not "actor of third-rate rôles," but "third-rate actor"; cf. Bekker, Anecdota, p. 309. 31 ἀδοκιμώτατος τῶν ὑποκριτῶν, ἐν τῆ τ̞τ

use which had been performed

in Athens before.

But see below, 840 E, where the more probable statement is made that he had no teacher. Cf. the anonymous Life of leschines, 13, Quintilian, ii. 17. 12, and Blass, Die attische Beredsamkeit, 2nd ed., iii, p. 157,

4 Aeschines was sent in 347 and 346 B.c. on two embassics to Philip concerning peace. The second is probably the one especially referred to here. In his orations On the Peace (346 s.c.) and On the False Legation (343 s.c.) Demosthenes attacks Aeschines and his colleagues.

(840) ποδών δε γενομένων τῶν περί Χαιρώνειαν, μηκέτι τὴν δίκην εἰσελθεῖν. χρόνω δ' ὕστερον, Φιλίππου μεν τετελευτηκότος 'Αλεξάνδρου δε διαβαίνοντος εἰς τὴν 'Ασίαν, ἐγράψατο Κτησιφῶντα παρανόμων ἐπὶ ταῖς Δημοσθένους τιμαῖς· οὐ μεταλαβών δε τὸ πέμπτον μέρος τῶν ψήφων ἔφυγεν εἰς τὴν 'Ρόδον, χιλίας δραχμὸς ὑπέρ τῆς ἤττης οὐ βουληθεὶς

D καταθέσθαι. οί δ' άτιμίας αὐτῷ προστιμηθῆναι λέγουσιν οὐ θέλοντι ἐξελθεῖν τῆς πόλεως, καὶ ἐλθεῖν εἰς Ἐφεσον ὡς ᾿Αλέξανδρον. τοῦ δὲ τελευτήσαντος, ταραχῆς οὐσης, ἀπάρας εἰς τῆν 'Ρόδον ἐνταῦθα σχολὴν καταστησάμενος ἐδίδασκεν. ἀνέγνω τε τοῖς 'Ροδίοις τὸν κατὰ Κτησιφῶντος λόγον ἐπιδεικνύμενος· θαυμαζόντων δὲ πάντων εἰ ταῦτ' Ε εἰπὼν ἡττήθη '' οὐκ ἄν,' ἔφη, '' ἔθαυμάζετε. 'Ρό-

Ε ειπών ηττήση ουκ αν, εφή, εσαυμαζετε, Γοδιοι, εἰ πρὸς ταῦτα Δημοσθένους λέγοντος ἡκούσατε.' σχολήν τ' ἐκεῖ προσκατέλιπε, τὸ 'Ροδιακὸν διδασκαλεῖον κληθέν. ἔπειτα πλεύσας εἰς Σάμον καὶ διατρίβων ἐπὶ τῆς νήσου ὀλίγον ὕστερον ἐτελεύτησεν. ἐγένετο δ' εὔφωνος, ὡς δῆλον ἔκ τε ὧν փπα Δημοσθένης καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Δημογάρους λόγου.

Φέρονται δ' αὐτοῦ λόγοι τέσσαρες, ὅ τε κατὰ Τιμάρχου καὶ ὁ τῆς Παραπρεσβείας καὶ ὁ κατὰ Κτησιφώντος, οι καὶ μόνοι εἰσὶ γνήσιοι. ὁ γὰρ ἐπιγραφόμενος Δηλιακός οὐκ ἔστιν Αἰσχίνου ἀπεδείχθη μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τὴν κρίσιν τὴν περὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ

1 την περί Dübner: τοῦ περί.

Anyone who brought a suit against another for proposing

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> The author's extreme brevity reduces to two sentences the events of about eight years. The acquittal of Λeschines took place in 343 s.c.

# AESCHINES, 840

the suit never came to trial because the battle of Chaeroneia intervened. At a later time, when Philip was dead and Alexander was crossing over to Asia, he is also in the conduct in the

nes; and when he cast, he went into

exile at Rhodes, not being willing to pay a fine of a thousand drachmas for his defeat. But some say that he was further punished by disfranchisement and did not leave the city of his own accord, and that he went to Alexander at Ephesus. During the confusion following Alexander's death he sailed to Rhodes, set up a school there, and taught. He read to the Rhodians his oration against Ctesiphon as an exhibition of his powers, and when they all wondered that after delivering that speech he had lost his case, "You would not wonder, Rhodians," he said, "if you had heard Demosthenes speak in reply to it." And he left a school behind him there, called the Rhodian school. Then he sailed to Samos and not long after, while lingering on that island, died. He had an excellent voice, as is clear from what Demosthenes savs c and from the oration of Demochares,

Four orations are current under his name: that Against Timarchus, that On the False Legation,<sup>d</sup> and that Against Ctesiphon,<sup>e</sup> and these alone are genuine, since the one entitled the Delian Oration is not by Aeschines; for he was, to be sure, appointed associate advocate in the trial relating to the sanctuary

a measure forbidden by law was subject to a fine and was debarred from bringing any similar suit if he received less than one-fifth of the votes cast by the dicasts.

Demosthenes, xviii. (On the Crown) 259, 308.

In L.C.L. Aeschines, pp. 15 ff.

Ibid. pp. 303 ff.

τοῦ ἐν Δήλῳ συσταθεὶς συνήγορος οὖ μὴν εἶπε τὸν λόγον ἐχειροτονήθη γὰρ Ὑπερείδης ἀντ' αὐτοῦ, ἄς Ϝ φησι Δημοσθένης. ἔσχε δὲ καὶ ἀδελφούς, ὥς φησιν αὐτός, ᾿Αφόβητον καὶ Φιλοχάρη. ἀπήγγειλε δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐν Ἰαμύναις νίκην πρῶτος ᾿Αθηναίοις, ἐφ'

ῷ καὶ ἐστεφανώθη τὸ δεύτερον.3

Οι δ' είπον μηδέ μαθητεῦσαί τισι τὸν Αἰσχίνην, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς ὑπογραμματείας ἀρθῆναι ἐν τοῖς διεκαστηρίοις τότε διάγοντα πρῶτον δ' εἰπεῖν ἐν τῷ δήμω κατὰ Φιλίππου, εὐδοκιμήσαντά τε πρεσβευτὴν χειροτονηθῆναι πρὸς 'Αρκάδας' πρὸς οὐς ἀφικόμενον συστῆσαι τοὺς μυρίους ἐπὶ Φίλιππον, ἐγράψατο δὲ καὶ Τίμαρχον ἐπαιρήσεως. ὁ δ' ἐκλιπῶν τὸν ἀγῶνα αὐτὸν ἀνήρτησεν, ὡς ποῦ φησι Δημοσθένης. ἐχειροτονήθη δὲ' πρεσβευτὴς ὡς Φίλιππον μετὰ' Κτησιφῶντος καὶ Δημοσθένους περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης, ἐν ἢ ἄμεινον τοῦ Δημοσθένους ἡνέχθη· τὸ δὲ' δεύτερον δέκατος ὤν, κυρώσας ὄρκοις τὴν εἰρήνην, κυβεἰς ἀπέφυγεν, ὡς προσδενοις τὸν εἰρήνην, κυβεἰς ἀπέφυγεν, ὡς προσ

# Ζ'. ΛΥΚΟΥΡΓΟΣ

Λυκοθργος πατρός μέν ήν Λυκόφρονος του Λυ-Β κούργου, ον οι τριάκοντα τύραννοι ἀπέκτειναν, αιτίου αιντώ τής ἀναιρέσεως γενομένου 'Αριστο-

1 'Αφόβητον Westermann from Aeschines: ἄφοβον.

είρηται.

Φιλοχάρη
 το δεύτερε in mss. is after
 Αθηναίοις; cf.
 3 169.

<sup>4 8</sup>è added 1

<sup>5</sup> μετά Franke: κατά.

δè added by Bernardakis.

### AESCHINES-LYCURGUS, 840-841

at Delos, but he did not deliver the speech; for Hypereides was elected in his place, as Demosthenes says.<sup>a</sup> He had, as he himself says,<sup>b</sup> two brothers, Aphobetus and Philochares. He was the first to bring to the Athenians the news of the victory at Tamynae, for which he was crowned a second time.

Some have said that Acschines did not study under any teachers, but rose from the under-clerkship in the courts, which he held at that time. And they say that his first speech before the people was against Philip, by which he gained such reputation as to be chosen envoy to the Arcadians; and when he came to them he raised the ten thousand troops with which to oppose Philip. He also prosecuted for unchastity Timarchus, who gave up the defence and hanged himself, as Demosthenes says somewhere.6 He was elected envoy to Philip with Ctesiphon and Demosthenes to treat for peace, on which occasion he was more successful than Demosthenes; and the second time, when he was one of ten,d he confirmed the peace with oaths, was tried for it, and was acquitted, as has been said above.

### VII. LYCURGUS

Lycurgus was the son of Lycophron and grandson of the Lycurgus whom the Thirty Tyrants put to death, his execution being brought about by Aristo-

a Demosthenes, xviii. (On the Crown) p. 271, 134.

b Demosthenes, xix. (On the False Legation) 149.
• Ibid. 2 and 285.

Acschines, On the False Legation, 178.

(841) δήμου Βατήθεν, δς και έλληνοταμίας γενόμενος ἔφυγεν ἐν τῆ δημοκρατία τῶν δήμων δὲ Βουτάδης, γένους τοῦ τῶν Ἐτεοβουταδῶν. ἀκροατής δὲ νενόμενος Πλάτωνος τοῦ φιλοσόφου, τὰ πρώτα έφιλοσόφησεν είτα καὶ Ἰσοκράτους τοῦ ρήτορος γνώριμος γενόμενος επολιτεύσατο επιφανώς, καί λένων καὶ πράττων καὶ δὴ πιστευσάμενος τὴν διοίκησιν των χρημάτων ταμίας γάρ έγένετο έπλ τρείς πενταετηρίδας ταλάντων μυρίων τετρακισχιλίων, η ως τινες μυρίων οκτακισχιλίων έξακοσίων πεντήκοντα, καὶ ὁ τὰς τιμὰς αὖτῷ ψηφιζόμενος C Στρατοκλής ο ρήτωρ, το μέν πρώτον αίρεθείς αὐτός, ἔπειτα τῶν φίλων ἐπιγραψάμενός τινα. αὐτὸς ἐποιεῖτο τὴν διοίκησιν διὰ τὸ φθάσαι νόμον είσενεγκείν, μή πλείω πέντε έτων διέπειν τον χειροτονηθέντα έπὶ τὰ δημόσια χρήματα, ἀεί τ' έφεστως τοῦς ἔργοις διετέλεσε, καὶ θέρους καὶ χειμῶνος. καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ πολέμου παρασκευὴν νειροτονηθείς πολλά της πόλεως έπηνώρθωσε, καί τριήρεις παρεσκεύασε τῷ δήμω τετρακοσίας, καὶ τὸ D εν Λυκείω γυμνάσιον εποίησε και εφύτευσε και την παλαίστραν ωκοδόμησε καὶ τὸ ἐν Διονύσου θέατρον έπιστατών επετέλεσε. πιστευσάμενος δ' εν παρα-

1 Λυκείω Xylander: λυκίω.

2 ἐπετέλεσε the Turin editors from Moralia, 852 c: ἐτελεύτησε.

b 338-326 B.c. The title of his office is not known. No this is mentioned in Aristotle's may have been in charge of the

y fund, or both, by virtue of a

special commission, which in the next generation became a 396

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> The Hellenotamiae were a board of ten members who collected and administered the tribute paid to Athens by the members of the Delian Confederacy.

# LYCURGUS, 841

demus of Batê, who also, after having been one of the Hellenotamiae, was banished under the democracy. Lycurgus was of the deme of the Butadac and the family of the Eteobutadae. He attended the lectures of Plato the philosopher and at first devoted himself to philosophy; then, after being a pupil of the orator Isocrates, he had a notable public career both as a speaker and as a man of action, and he was also entrusted with the management of the finances of the State; for he was made treasurer for three periods of four years b in charge of fourteen thousand talents, or, as some say (and among them the man who proposed the vote of honours for him, Stratocles the orator), eighteen thousand, six hundred and fifty.d He was elected in his own person the first time, but afterwards he entered the name of one of his friends, though he himself administered the office, because a law had previously been introduced forbidding anyone elected treasurer of the public funds to hold the office more than four years; and he was always intent upon the public business summer and winter. When he was elected to provide munitions of war he restored many edifices in the city, he provided four hundred triremes for the people, he constructed the gymnasium in the Lyccum and planted trees in it, he built the palaestra and finished the Dionysiac theatre when he was the commissioner in charge of that work. He took care of two hundred

more at present values.

Probably while he was in control of the finances. Cf.
 Dörpfeld and Reisch, Das griechische Theater, pp. 39 f.

(841) καταθήκη παρά των ίδιωτων διακόσια πεντήκοντα τάλαντα έφύλαξε, πομπεῖά τε χρυσᾶ καὶ ἀργυρᾶ τῆ πόλει κατεσκεύασε καὶ νίκας χρυσᾶς. πολλὰ δ' ἡμίεργα παραλαβών ἐξεπέλεσε καὶ νεωσοίκους καὶ τὴν σκευσθήκην καὶ τῷ σταδίω τῷ Παναθηναϊκώ τὴν κρηπίδα περιέθηκεν, ἐξεργασάμενος τοῦτό τε καὶ τὴν χαράδραν ὁμαλὴν ποιήσας, Δεινίου τινός, ôs ἐκέκτητο τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον, ἀνέντος τῆ πόλει, προείπαντος² αὐτῷ³ χαρίσασθαι Λυκούργου.4

Ε "Εσχε δὲ καὶ τοῦ ἄστεος τὴν φυλακὴν καὶ τῶν κακούργων τὴν σύλληψιν, οὖς ἐξήλασεν ἄπαντας, ὡς καὶ τῶν σοφιστῶν ἐνίους λέγειν Λυκοῦργον οἰ μέλανι ἀλλὰ θανάτω, χρίοντα τὸν κάλαμον κατὰ τῶν πονηρῶν, οὕτω συγγράφειν. ὅθεν ἐξαιτηθέντα αὐτὸν ὑπ' ᾿Αλεξάνδρου τοῦ βασιλέως ὁ δῆμος οὐ προήκατο. καθ' ὁν δὲ χρόνον ἐπολέμει Φίλιππος πρὸς ᾿Αθηναίους τὸν δεύτερον πόλεμον, ἐπρέσβευε μετὰ Πολυεύκτου καὶ Δημοσθένους εἴς τε Πελο-Ε πόννησον καὶ τινας ἐτέρας πόλεις. διετέλεσέ τε τὸν ἄπαντα χρόνον εὐδοκιμῶν παρὰ τοῦς ᾿Αθηναίοις καὶ δίκαιος εἶναι νομιζόμενος, ὥστε καὶ ἐν τοῦς διαστηρίοις τὸ φῆσαι Λυκοῦργον ἔδόκει βοήθημα εἶναι τῷ συναγορευομένω.

Εἰσήνεγκε δὲ καὶ νόμους, τὸν μὲν περὶ τῶν κωμωδῶν, ἀγῶνα τοῖς Χύτροις ἐπιτελεῖν ἐφάμιλλον ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ καὶ τὸν νικήσαντα εἰς ἄστυ κατα-

Δεινίου Coraes: δινίου.
 προείπαντος Emperius: περὶ παντὸς.
 αὐτῷ added by Bernardakis.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Αυκούργου Bernardakis: λυκούργω,

<sup>•</sup> θανάτω] αἴματι Amyot from Life of Solon, chap. xvii.

### LYCURGUS, 841

and fifty talents entrusted to him on deposit by private persons, he provided for the city objects of gold and silver for use in processions and golden Victories, and many buildings which came into his hands half-finished he completed, among them the ship-sheds and the arsenal. And he put the foundation-walls round the Panathenaic stadium. This he accomplished, and also the levelling of the ravine, because a certain Deinias who owned this plot of land gave it to the city when Lycurgus suggested to him that he make the gift.

He was charged also with guarding the city and arresting malefactors, whom he drove out entirely, so that some of the sophists said that Lycurgus signed warrants against evil-doers with a pen dipped, not in ink, but in death. And therefore, when King Alexander demanded his surrender, the people did not give him up. When Philip was carrying on the second war with the Athenians, Lycurgus went as envoy with Polyeuctus and Demosthenes to the Peloponnesus and to some other States. Throughout his life he was always highly esteemed among the Athenians and considered a just man, so that in the courts of law the word of Lycurgus was regarded as a help to anyone requiring an advocate.

He also introduced laws: the law relating to comic actors, that a competitive performance be held on the festival of Pots and that the victor's name

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> The third day of the Anthesteria, the thirteenth day of the month Anthesterium.

λέγεσθαι πρότερον οὐκ ἐξόν, ἀναλαμβάνων τὸν άγῶνα ἐκλελοιπότα· τὸν δέ, ὡς χαλκᾶς εἰκόνας ἀναθείναι τῶν ποιητῶν, Αἰσχύλου Σοφοκλέους Εὐριπίδου, καὶ τὰς τραγωδίας αὐτῶν ἐν κοινῷ γραψαμένους φυλάττειν καὶ τὸν τῆς πόλεως γραμματέα παραναγινώσκειν τοῖς ὑποκρινουμένοις οὐκ ἐξεῖναι γάρ παρ' αὐτὰς ὑποκρίνεσθαι. καὶ τρίτον, μηδενὶ 842 έξειναι 'Αθηναίων μηδέ των οικούντων 'Αθήνησιν έλεύθερον σώμα πρίασθαι έπὶ δουλεία έκ τών άλισκομένων άνευ της τοῦ προτέρου δεσπότου γνώμης, έτι δέ, ώς τοῦ Ποσειδώνος αγώνα ποιείν έν Πειραιεί, κυκλίων χορών οὐκ έλαττον τριών, καί δίδοσθαι μέν τοῖς νίκωσιν οὐκ ἔλαττον δέκα μνᾶς. τοις δε δευτέροις οκτώ, εξ δε τοις τρίτοις κριθείσιν. έτι δ' ἐπὶ ζεύγους μὴ ἀπιέναι γυναῖκα Ἐλευσῖνάδε. όπως μη έλαττώνται αί δημοτικαί ύπο τών πλουσίων εἰ δέ τις φωραθείη, ἀποτίνειν δραχμὰς έξακισχιλίας. τῆς δὲ γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ μὴ πεισθείσης, τῶν συκοφαντῶν φωρασάντων, τάλαντον Β αὐτοῖς ἔδωκε κατηγορούμενος δ' ἐν ὑστέρω ἐν τῶ

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> γὰρ παρ' αὐτὰς Bernardakis: γὰρ αὐτὰς.
<sup>2</sup> καὶ added by Dübner.

και added by Dubher.
 ἔτι δ' added by Sauppe.
 ἀπιέναι Taylor: ἀπεῖναι,

<sup>5</sup> ai δημοτικαὶ added by Baiter from Photius.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> The τραγωδοί and κωμωδοί alone were eligible to be chosen by lot as protagonists for the tragedies and comedies to be presented at the City Dionysia, the subordinate rôles being assigned to plain ὑποκρεταί. Prior to the passage of the law of Lycurgus those only were eligible who had previously won a victory at the City Dionysia. The effect of the law of Lycurgus was, therefore, to increase the number of those from whom the archon could choose a κωμωδός for each of the five comedies to be presented. See Rohde,

### LYCURGUS, 841-842

be inscribed as eligible for the City Dionysia, a which had not been permitted before, and thus he revived a contest which had fallen out of use : the law that bronze statues of the poets Aeschvlus, Sophocles, and Euripides be erected, that their tragedies be written out and kept in a public depository, and that the clerk of the State read them to the actors who were to perform their plays for comparison of the texts and that it be unlawful to depart from the authorized text in acting; a third law that no Athenian or foreign resident of Athens should be permitted to buy form a person of free birth to be a slav nt of his former master b; furthermore, that a festival of Poseidon should be held in Peiraeus, consisting of no fewer than three cyclic choruses, that not less than ten minas be given to the victors, eight to those ranked second by the judges, and six to those ranked third; furthermore, that no woman should go to Elcusis c in a carriage, lest the women of the people appear inferior to the rich, and if any woman should be caught doing this, she should pay a fine of six thousand drachmas. His own wife disobeyed, the informers caught her in the act, and he gave them a talent; and at a later time, when accused of this in the popular assembly,

Rheinisches Museum, xxxviii. p. 276, and J. B. O'Connor, Chapters in the History of Actors and Acting, pp. 57 ff.

 This refers to celebration of the

b Prisoners of war were usually auctioned off into slavery regardless of their previous condition. If such a captive could prove his free birth through the testimony of the man who owned him when taken captive, he could not under this new law be purchased by any Athenian for slavery, cf. M. H. E. Meier, ("county of the could not under this new law be purchased by any Athenian for slavery, cf. M. H. E. Meier, ("county of the could not under this new law be purchased by any Athenian for slavery, cf. M. H. E. Meier, ("county of the could not under the could no

(842) δήμω, ἔφη " ἀλλ' οὖν ἐγὼ μὲν διδοὺς οὐ λαμβάνων ε΄ώραμαι." τελώνου δέ ποτ' ἐπιβαλόντος Ξενοκράτει τῷ φιλοσόφω τὰς χεῖρας καὶ πρὸς τὸ μετοίκιον αὐτὸν ἀπάγοντος, ἀπαντήσας ράβδω τε κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ τελώνου κατήνεγκε, καὶ τὸν μὲν Ξενοκράτην ἀπέλυσε, τὸν δ' ὡς οὐ τὰ πρέποντα δράσαντα εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον κατέκλεισεν ἐπαινουμένου δ' ἐπὶ τῆ πράξει, μεθ' ἡμέρας τινὰς συντυχών ὁ Ξενοκράτης τοῦς παισὶ τοῦ Λυκούργου, ἔφη "ταχέως γε τῷ πατρὶ ὑμῶν ἀπέδωκα, ὢ παῖδες, () τὴν χάρων ἐπαινεῦται γὰρ ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἐπὶ τῶ

βοηθησαί μοι."

Εἰσήνεγκε δὲ καὶ ψηφίσματα Εὐκλείδη τινὶ 'Ολυνθίω χρώμενος ἱκανωτάτω περὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα. εὐπορος δὶ ὢν ἱμάτιον ἐν καὶ ταὐτον ἐφόρει τοῦ χειμῶνος καὶ τοῦ θέρους καὶ ὑπεδέδετο ταῖς ἀναγκαίαις ἡμέραις. ἐμελέτα δὲ καὶ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας, οὐκ εὖ πρὸς τὰ αὐτοσχέδια πεφυκώς, κλινιδίου δὶ αὐτῷ ὑποκειμένου, ἐφὶ ῷ μόνον ἡν κώδιον καὶ προσκεφάλαιον, ὅπως ἐγείροιτο ραδίως καὶ μελετώη. ἐγκαλοῦντος δὶ αὐτῷ τινος ὅτι μισθος το σοφισταῖς δίδωσι περὶ λόγους διατρίβων, ἀλλὶ εἰ τις γὶ ἐπαγγέλλοιτο, ἔφη, τοὺς νίοὺς ἀμείνους αὐτῷ

D σοφισταῖς δίδωσι περὶ λόγους διατρίβων, ἀλλὶ εἴ τις γ' ἐπαγγέλλοιτο, ἔφη, τοὺς υἰοὺς ἀμείνους αὐτῷ ποιήσειν, οὐ χιλίας ἀλλὰ τὰ ἡμίση τῆς οὐσίας προῖεσθαι. ἦν δὲ καὶ παρρησιαστὴς διὰ τὴν εὐ-γένειαν ᾿Αθηναίων γέ τοὶ ποτε οὐκ ἀνεχομένων

1 ἀπάγοντος Coraes; ἀπαγαγόντος. 2 μοι. εἰσήνεγκε Solanus; μόγις. ήνεγκε. 3 καὶ ταὐτόν Bernardakis; καὶ ταὐτό Meziriacus; καθ' αὐτό.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> The story may well be apocryphal. The saying of Lycurgus, repeated by Plutarch in his Comp. of Nicias and 402

# LYCURGUS, 842

he said, "At any rate I am found to have been the giver, not the receiver." And once when a tax-collector laid hands on Xenocrates the philosopher and Lycurgus met him as he was leading him away to enforce payment of his tax as a resident alien, he brought his walking-stick down on the tax-collector's head, set Xenocrates free, and shut the other man up in prison for improper conduct. As he was generally commended for his act, Xenocrates, happening to meet Lycurgus's children some days later, said "I have repaid your father quickly for the favour he did me, boys; for he is widely commended for coming to my assistance."

He also proposed decrees, making use of a certain Olynthian named Eucleides, who was an expert in decrees. And although he was well-to-do, he wore one and the same cloak winter and summer and put on sandals only on days when they were necessary. He studied night and day, since he had no natural gift for extemporaneous speaking, and he lay on a cot with only a sheepskin and a pillow on it, so that he might wake up easily and study. When someone found fault with him for paying money to sophists although he made words his profession, he replied that if anyone would promise to make his sons better, he would pay him, not thousands only, but half his property. He was

Crassus, S, is not there connected with the Eleusis incident; and Aelian, Var. Hist. xiii. 24, expressly states that the statesman's wife paid a fine after legal condemnation, not a bribe to the informer.

b The tax was twelve drachmas.

 Several decrees moved by him are extant, e.g. I.G. ii.<sup>2</sup> 337, 338.

(842) αὐτοῦ δημηγοροῦντος, ἀνέκραγεν ἐκβαλλόμενος " Τ Κερκυραία μάστιξ, ώς πολλών ταλάντων εῖ ἀξία." πάλιν δὲ θεὸν ἀναγορευόντων ᾿Αλέξανδρον ΄΄ καὶ ποδαπὸς ἄν εἴη¹,'' εἶπεν, ΄΄ ὁ θεός, οὖ τὸ ἷερὸν έξιόντας δεήσει περιοραίνεσθαι<sup>2</sup>: " ἀποθανόντος Ε δ' αύτοῦ, παρέδωκαν τους παίδας τοις ένδεκα Μενεσαίχμου μέν κατηγορήσαντος γραψαμένου δέ Θρασυκλέους. Δημοσθένους δε καθ' ον έφευνε χρόνον ἐπιστείλαντος τοῖς ᾿Αθηναίοις, ὡς κακῶς ακούοιεν επὶ τοῖς Λυκούργου παιδίοις, μετενόησαν καὶ ἀφηκαν αὐτούς, Δημοκλέους τοῦ Θεοφράστου μαθητοῦ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀπολογησαμένου. ἐτάφη δ' αύτος και των εκγόνων τινές δημοσία και έστιν αὐτῶν τὰ μνήματα ἀντικριν τῆς Παιωνίας 'Αθηνᾶς έν τω Μελανθίου του φιλοσόφου κήπω, τράπεζαι πεποιημέναι, αὐτοῦ τε τοῦ Λυκούργου καὶ τῶν παίδων αὐτοῦ ἐπιγεγραμμέναι καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς ἔτι Ε σωζόμεναι. το μέγιστον, χίλια διακόσια τάλαντα προσόδου τῆ πόλει κατέστησε, πρότερον έξήκοντα προσιόντων. μέλλων δὲ τελευτήσειν εἰς τὸ μητρώον καὶ τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐκέλευσεν αύτὸν κομισθήναι, βουλόμενος εὐθύνας δοῦναι τῶν πεπολιτευμένων οὐδενος δε κατηγορησαι τολμήσαντος πλην Μενεσαίχμου, τὰς διαβολὰς ἀπολυσάμενος εἰς

<sup>1</sup> εἴη added by Coraes.
 <sup>2</sup> περιρραίνεσθαι Dübner: περιρράνεσθαι.
 <sup>8</sup> ἔφευγε Coraes: ἔφυγε.
 <sup>4</sup> ἀντικρύ Herwerden: ἀντικρυς.

<sup>\*</sup> The Corcyracan whip was especially slinging, and the orator's outbreak means: "I would give a great deal to use a cat-o'-nine-tails on you people."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>b</sup> Cf. Demosthenes, Epistle iii., and Aeschines, Epistle xii.

### LYCURGUS, 842

were showing dissent as he was speaking, he burst out with: "O Corcyraean whip, how many talents you are worth ! " And when they were proclaiming Alexander a god, "What sort of god," he said, "is he when those who come out of his temple have to sprinkle themselves with holy water?" After his death his sons were handed over to the eleven exccutioners on the accusation of Menesaechmus, the indictment being written by Thrasycles; but when Demosthenes, who was at that time in exile, wrote a letter to the Athenians b saying that their reputation was suffering because of Lycurgus's sons, they changed their mind and released them, Democles, a pupil of Theophrastus, speaking in their defence. He himself and some of his descendants were buried at public expense; and their monuments are opposite the Paeonian Athena in the garden of the philosopher Melanthius ; they are in the form of tables, and those of Lycurgus and his children have inscriptions and are still preserved in our day. His greatest achievement was the raising of the State revenue to twelve hundred talents when it had previously been sixty. When he was at the point of death he gave orders that he be carried to the temple of the Great Mother and into the Bouleuterion, as he wished to give an accounting for his public acts; and when no one had the face to accuse him except Menesaechmus, he freed himself from his false accusations,

<sup>c</sup> Judeich, Topogr. v. Athen<sup>2</sup>, p. 409, conjectures that the garden of Melanthius was in the neighbourhood of the Academy.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> The Bouleuterion was the meeting-place of the Boulê or Senate; the foundations of this and of the temple of the Great Mother have recently been found on the west side of the Agora. See T. L. Shear, Hesperia, iv. pp. 349 ff.

την οικίαν απεκομίσθη και ετελεύτησεν, επιεικής νομισθεις παρά πάντα τον τοῦ βίου χρόνον και εν λόγοις επαινεθείς και μηδένα αγώνα αλούς, καίτοι πολλών κατηγορησάντων.

"Εσχε δὲ τρεῖς παΐδας ἐκ Καλλιστοῦς τῆς "Αβρωνος μέν θυνατρός, Καλλίου" δέ τοῦ "Αβρωνος Βατήθεν άδελφής, του ταμιεύσαντος στρατιωτικών 843 έπὶ Χαιρώνδου άρχοντος περί δὲ τῆς κηδείας ταύτης λέγει ο Δείναρχος έν τῷ κατὰ Πιστίου.3 κατέλιπε δὲ παίδας "Αβρωνα Λυκοθργον Λυκόφρονα ων ο "Αβρων και ο Λυκούργος απαιδες μετήλλαξαν άλλ' ο γ' "Αβρων καὶ πολιτευσάμενος έπιφανώς μετήλλαξε. Δυκόφρων δε γήμας Καλλιστομάχην Φιλίππου Αίξωνέως εγέννησε Καλλιστώ. ταύτην δέ γήμας Κλεόμβροτος Δεινοκράτους 'Αχαρνεύς, εγέννησε Λυκόφρονα τοῦτον δ' δ πάππος είσεποιήσατο Λυκόφρων ούτος δ' ετελεύτησεν άπαις μετά δε την Λυκόφρονος τελευτήν έγημε την Β Καλλιστώ Σωκράτης καὶ ἔσχεν υίὸν Σύμμαχον τοῦ δ' έγένετο 'Αριστώνυμος, τοῦ δὲ Χαρμίδης τοῦ δὲ Φιλίππη ταύτης δέ και Λυσάνδρου Μήδειος, δ καὶ ἐξηγητής ἐξ Εὐμολπιδῶν γενόμενος τούτου δὲ καὶ Τιμοθέας της Γλαύκου παίδες Λαοδάμεια καὶ Μήδειος, δς την ιερωσύνην Ποσειδώνος Έρεχθέως είχε, καὶ Φιλίππη, ήτις ἱεράσατο τῆς 'Αθηνᾶς ὕστερον· πρότερον δ' αὐτὴν γήμας Διοκλῆς ὁ Μελιτεὺς' ἐγέννησε Διοκλέα, τὸν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὁπλίτας στρατηγήσαντα: γήμας δ' οδτος 'Ηδίστην "Αβρωνος

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> τοῦ βίου Coraes from Photius: βίου.
<sup>2</sup> Καλλίου Salmasius: καλαιοῦ.

Πιστίου Meursius from Harpocration: παστίου.
 Αἰξωνέως Xylander: ἀειξωνέος.
 Μελιτεύς Coraes: Μελιτεύς.

#### LYCURGUS, 842-843

was carried to his house, and died, having been considered a honourable man throughout his whole life, and highly praised for his speeches. He never was convicted, though many brought accusations against him.

He had three children by Callisto, the daughter of Habron and sister of Callias the son of Habron of the deme Batê, the one who was treasurer of military funds in the archonship of Charondas.<sup>b</sup> Deinarchus, in his speech against Pistius, tells about this connexion by marriage. He left three sons, Habron, Lycurgus, and Lycophron, of whom Habron and Lycurgus died without issue. However, Habron at any rate had a distinguished public career before he died; but Lycophron married Callistomachê, daughter of Philippus of Acxonê, and had a daughter Callisto. She was married to Cleombrotus of Acharnae, son of Deinocrates, to whom she bore a son Lycophron, who was adopted by his grandfather Lycophron and died without issue. After I

machus had a son Aristonymus, he a son Charmides, and Charmides a daughter Philippa. Her son by Lysander was Medeius, who became an expounder of rites, being of the family of the Eumolpidae. He and Timothea, daughter of Glaucus, had three children, Laodameia and Medeius, who held the priestship of Poseidon-Erechtheus, and Philippa, who afterwards became priestess of Athena; but before that Diocles of Melité married her, and their son was the Diocles who was general in command of the heavy-armed force. He married Hedistê, daughter

His death occurred about 324 B.c.
 At Eleusis in connexion with the Eleusinian Mysteries.

(843) Φιλιππίδην καὶ Νικοστράτην ἐγέννησε· γήμας δὲ C τὴν Νικοστράτην Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ Θεοφράστου ὁ δαδοῦχος ἐγέννησε Θεόφραστον καὶ Διοκλέα· διετάξατο δὲ καὶ τὴν ἱερωσύνην τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος Ἐρεγθέως.

Φέρονται δὲ τοῦ ρήτορος λόγο, δεκαπέντε. ἐστεφανώθη δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου πολλάκις καὶ εἰκόνων ἔτυχεν· ἀνάκειται δ' αὐτοῦ χαλκῆ εἰκὼν ἐν Κεραμεικῷ κατὰ ψήφισμα ἐπ' ᾿Αναξικράτους ἄρχοντος· ἐφ' οδ ἔλαβε καὶ σίτησιν ἐν πρυτανείῳ αὐτός τε ὁ' Λυκοῦργος καὶ ὁ πρεσβύτατος αὐτοῦ τῶν ἐκγόνων κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ ψήφισμα· ἀποθανόντος τε Λυκούργου, ὁ πρεσβύτατος τῶν παίδων Λυκόφρων ἡμφισβήτησε

ο πρεσρυτατος των παιοων Γιυκορρων ημφιορητησε

D τῆς δωρεᾶς. εἶπε δὲ καὶ περὶ ἱερῶν πολλάκις,
γραψάμενος Αὐτόλυκον τὸν ᾿Αρεοπαγίτην καὶ
Λυσικλέα τὸν στρατηγὸν καὶ Δημάδη τὸν Δημέου³
καὶ Μενέσαιχμον ἄλλους τε πολλούς, καὶ πάντας
εἶλεν. ἔκρινε δὲ καὶ Δίφιλον, ἐκ τῶν ἀργυρείων³
μετάλλων τοὺς μεσοκρινεῖς,⁴ οἱ ἐβάσταζον τὰ ὑπερκείμενα βάρη, ὑφελόντα καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν πεπλουτηκότα
παρὰ τοὺς νόμους· καὶ θανάτου ὅντος ἐπιτιμίου
ἀλῶναι ἐποίησε, καὶ πεντήκοντα δραχμὰς ἐκ τῆς
οὐσίας αὐτοῦ ἐκάστω τῶν πολιτῶν διένειμε, τῶν
Τὶ πάντων συναχθέντων ταλάντων ἐκατὸν ἐξήκοντα·
ἤ, ἄς τινες, μνᾶν. ὁ δὸ ἐθύνος ᾿Αρωτογείτονα καὶ

<sup>1</sup> τε δ Wyttenbach: τε καὶ δ.
2 Δημέου Westermann: δημίου.
3 ἀργυρείων Baiter: ἀργυρίων.

φεσοκρινείς Xylander from Pollux, vii. 98: μεσοκρανείς.

# LYCURGUS, 843

of Habron, and had two children, Philippides and Nicostrata. Themistocles, the Torch-bearer, son of Theophrastus, married Nicostrata and had two sons, Theophrastus and Diocles. He also organized the

priesthood of Poseidon-Erechtheus.

Fifteen speeches of the orator are current. He was crowned by the people many times and was honoured with statues. A bronze statue of him stands in the Cerameicus, set up in accordance with a decree passed in the archonship of Anaxicrates.d in which year Lycurgus and his eldest descendant were granted maintenance in the Prytaneum by the same decree. After Lycurgus died his eldest son. Lycophron, brought a suit for the grant. Lycurgus spoke also many times on religious matters, bringing suit against Autolyeus the Arcopagite, Lysicles the general, Demades the son of Demeas, Menesaechmus. and many others, and he caused them all to be convicted. He also brought Diphilus to trial, who removed from the silver mines the rock props which supported the weight above and made himself rich from them contrary to the law; and though the penalty for this was death, Lycurgus brought about his conviction, and from the confiscated estate distributed fifty drachmas to every citizen, since the total sum collected was one hundred and sixty talents or, as some say, he distributed a mina to each

down to us.

d 307-306 B.C. See the Decree below, 851 ff.

a The Torch-bearer was an important functionary in the Elcusinian Mysteries. The office was hereditary.
b Of these only the speech against Leccrates has come

The inscription on the base of this statue is probably preserved in I.G. ii. 3776. Another statue stood not far from the Prytaneium; cf. Pausanius, i. 8. 2.

(843) Λεωκράτην καὶ Αὐτόλυκον δειλίας. ἐπεκαλεῖτο δ' δ Λυκούργος [βις2

\*Ιβις Λυκούρνω, Χαιρεφώντι\* νυκτερίς. κατήνον δε το νένος απωτάτω μεν απ' Ερεγθέως

τοῦ Γῆς καὶ Ἡφαίστου τὰ δ' ἐγγυτάτω ἀπὸ

Λυκομήδους καὶ Λυκούργου, οθς ὁ δήμος ταφαίς έτίμησε δημοσία καὶ έστιν αύτη ή καταγωγή τοῦ νένους των ιερασαμένων του Ποσειδώνος έν πίνακι τελείω, δς ανάκειται εν Έρεχθείω, γεγραμμένος ύπ Ίσμηνίου τοῦ Χαλκιδέως καὶ εἰκόνες ξύλιναι τοῦ τε Λυκούργου καὶ τῶν υἱῶν αὐτοῦ, "Αβρωνος F Λυκούρνου Λυκόφρονος, ας εἰρνάσαντο Τίμαρνος καὶ Κηφισόδοτος, οἱ Πραξιτέλους νίεις τὸν δὲ πίνακα ανέθηκεν "Αβρων ο παις αὐτοῦ, λαγών ἐκ τοῦ γένους τὴν ἱερωσύνην καὶ παραχωρήσας τῶ άδελφω Λυκόφρονι και διά τοῦτο πεποίηται ό "Αβρων προσδιδούς αὐτῷ τὴν τρίαιναν. πάντων δ' ων διώκησεν αναγραφήν ποιησάμενος ανέθηκεν έν στήλη πρό της ύπ' αὐτοῦ κατασκευασθείσης παλαίστρας σκοπείν τοίς βουλομένοις οὐδείς μέντοι

έδυνήθη ελέγξαι τον άνδρα νοσφισμού. Εγραψε δέ καὶ Νεοπτόλεμον 'Αντικλέους στεφανώσαι καὶ

<sup>1</sup> δειλίας Valesius: δουλείας.

είκονα άναθείναι, ότι έπηγγείλατο χρυσώσειν τον Wyttenbach suggests that ωs φησιν 'Αριστοφάνης be added.

<sup>8</sup> Χαιρεφώντι Taylor: Ξενοφώντι,

άπωτάτω μέν ἀπ' Turin editors; ἀπὸ Βούτου καὶ Sauppe: ἀπό Βουταδών καὶ Bernardakis: ἀπό τούτων καὶ,

<sup>5</sup> ξύλιναι Sauppe: ξύλινοι.

# LYCURGUS, 843

citizen.<sup>a</sup> He it was who called Aristogeiton, Leocrates, and Autolyeus to account for cowardice. Lycurgus was nicknamed "Ibis,"

An ibis for Lycurgus, for Chaerephon a bat.

His family was derived ultimately from Erechtheus. the son of Gaea and Poseidon, but in the nearest . . . . . . . whom the expense; and this succession from father to son of those of the family who have been priests of Poseidon exists on a complete tablet which has been set up in the Erechtheum, painted by Ismenias the Chalcidian; and there are wooden statues of Lycurgus and his sons Habron, Lycurgus, and Lycophron, made by Timarchus and Cephisodotus, the sons of Praxiteles. But the tablet was put up by his son Habron, who received the priesthood by inheritance and handed it over to his brother Lycophron; and that is why Habron is represented as handing Lycophron the trident. And Lycurgus had a record made of all his acts as a public official and set it up on a tablet, for all men to see who wished, in front of the palaestra that he had built; no one, however, could convict him of embezzlement. He made the motion to crown Neoptolemus the son of Anticles and to set up a statue of him because he had promised to gild the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> The drachma was worth, in silver, about 9d. or 18 cents, the mina 100 drachmas, the talent 60 minas. The sums

the value of modern currencies render such calculations very inexact. See Decree III. below, 851 F-852 E.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>b</sup>Aristophanes, Birds, 1296 and scholium. But it was the grandfather of the orator and statesman to whom Aristophanes referred.

844 βωμὸν τοῦ ᾿Απόλλωνος ἐν ἀγορῷ κατὰ τὴν μαντείαν τοῦ θεοῦ. ἐψηφίσατο δὲ καὶ Διοτίμω̞¹ Διοπείθους Εὐωνυμεῖ τιμὰς ἐπὶ Κτησικλέους ἄρχοντος.

# Η'. ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΗΣ

Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους καὶ Κλεοβούλης τῆς Γύλωνος θυγατρός, τῶν δὲ δήμων Παιανιεύς, καταλειφθείς ὑπό τοῦ πατρὸς ἐτῶν ἑπτὰ μετ' ἀδελφῆς Β πενταέτιδος τὸν μὲν τῆς ὀρφανίας χρόνου παρὰ τῆ μητρὶ διῆγε, οχολάζων 'Ισοκράτει ὡς τινες ἔφασας, ὡς δ' οἱ πλεῖοτοι 'Ισαίω τῷ Χαλκιδεῖ, δς ἦν 'Ισοκράτους μαθητής, διάγοντι ἐν 'λθήναις, ζηλῶν Θουκυδίδην καὶ Πλάτωνα τὸν φιλόσοφον, ῷ τινες εἶπον προηγουμένως αὐτὸν σχολάσαι. ὡς δ' 'Ηγησίας ὁ Μάγνης φησίν, ἐδεήθη τοῦ παιδαγωγοῦ, τῶς Καλλιστράτου 'Εμπέδου' 'Αφιδναίου, ρήτορος δοκίμου καὶ ἱππαρχήσαντος καὶ ἀναθέντος τὸν βωμὸν τῷ 'Ερμῆ τῷ ἀγοραίω, μέλλοντος ἐν τῷ δήμω λέγειν, ἀκούση· ἀκούσας δ' ἐραστὴς ἐγένετο τῶν ἐφειν, ἀκούση· ἀκούσας δ' ἐραστὴς ἐγένετο τῶν ἐπειδή δ' ὁ μὲν ἔφυγεν εἰς Θράκην ὁ ἐπειδήμει. ἐπειδή δ' ὁ μὲν ἔφυγεν εἰς Θράκην ὁ δ' ἐγεγόνει ἐξ ἐφήβων, τηνικαῦτα παρέβαλει»

<sup>1</sup> Διοτίμω Westermann: διοτίμου.
2 Γύλωνος Xylander: γυναικός τῆς.

<sup>\*</sup> πενταέτιδος Bernardakis: πενταετίδος.

\* ῷ τινες . . αὐτὸν Χylander: ὄν (οτ οί) τινες . . αὐτῷ.

\* Ἐμπεδου Pausanias, vii. 16. 4: ἐμπαίδου.

\* παρέβαλεν Dübner: παρέβαλλεν.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> This altar may have stood in front of the temple of Λpollo Patroüs; cf. Judeich, Topographie von Athen<sup>2</sup>, p. 345, n. 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>в</sup> 334-333 в.с.

# LYCURGUS-DEMOSTHENES, 844

altar of Apollo <sup>a</sup> in the Market-place in accordance with the God's prophecy. He also moved a decree granting honours to Diotimus, son of Diopeithes, of the deme Euonymus, in the archonship of Ctesicles.<sup>b</sup>

### VIII. DEMOSTHENES

Demosthenes, son of Demosthenes and Cleobulê daughter of Gylon, was of the deme Paeonia. He was left an orphan at the age of seven years o by his father, along with his five-year-old sister, and lived during his minority with his mother. Some say that he went to school to Isocrates, but most authorities say that he went to Isaeus of Chalcis, who was a pupil of Isocrates living in Athens. He imitated Thucydides and also the philosopher Plato, whose instruction, some say, he followed with especial zeal. But Hegesias of Magnesia says that he asked his attendant to let him hear Callistratus of Aphidna, son of Empedus, a noted orator who had been a commander of cavalry and had set up the altar to Hermesof-the-Market d and was about to address the popular assembly; and Demosthenes, when he had heard him speak, fell in love with oratory. Demosthenes heard him, it is true, for only a short time, as long as Callistratus remained in Athens; but when he had been banished to Thrace and Demosthenes had finished his service as ephebe, he went over to Iso-

 i.e. at the age of twenty. This service, designed to be a training for citizenship, lasted two years.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>c</sup> He was born in 384 B.c.; cf. Orations xxx. 15 and xxi 154.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> The bronze Hermes Agoraios was ἐν μέση τῆ ἀγορᾶ (schol. Aristoph. Eq. 297; of. Paus. i. 15. 1) and παρὰ τὴν ποικίλην (Lucian, Iup. Trag. 33).

(844) Ἰσοκράτει καὶ Πλάτωνι· εἶτα καὶ Ἰσαῖον ἀναλαβὼν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τετραετῆ χρόνον αὐτὸνὶ διεπόνησε, μιμούμενος αὐτοῦ τοὺς λόγους. ὡς δὲ Κτησίβιός φησιν ἐν τῷ περὶ Φιλοσοφίας, διὰ Καλλίου τοῦ Συρακουσίου πορίσας τοὺς² Ζήθου τοῦ 'Αμφιπολίτου λόγους, διὰ δὲ Χαρικλέους τοῦ Καρυστίου τοὺς 'Αλκιδάμαντος, διὰλεεν² αὐτούς.

Τελειωθεὶς δέ, ἐλάττω παρὰ τῶν ἐπιτρόπων παραλαβών, ἔκρινεν αὐτοὺς ἐπιτροπῆς ἐπὶ Τιμοκράτους ἄρχοντος, τρεῖς ὄντας, ᾿Αφοβον Θηριπ-Το πίδην Δημοφῶντα ἢ Δημέαν καὶ μάλιστα τούτου κατηγόρησεν ἀδελφοῦ τῆς μητρὸς ὄντος, δέκα τάλαντα τίμημα ἐκάστη τῶν δικῶν ἐπιγραμάμενος καὶ εἶλεν αὐτούς τῆς δὲ καταδίκης οὐδὲν ἐπράξατο, τοὺς μὲν ἀφεὶς ἄργυρίου τοὺς δὲ καὶ χάριτος. ᾿Αριστοφῶντος δ' ἤδη τὴν προστασίαν διὰ γῆρας καταλιπόντος, καὶ χορηγός ἐγένετο. Μειδίαν δὲ τὸν ᾿Αναγυράσιον πλήξαντα αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ θεάτρω χορηγοῦντα εἰς κρίσιν καταστήσας, λαβὰν τρισχιλίας ἀφῆκε τῆς δίκης. λέγουσι δ' αὐτὸν ἔτι νέον ὅντα εἰς σπήλαιον ἀπιένα κάκεῦ φιλολογεῖν τὸ ἤμισυ τῆς κεφαλῆς ξυράμενον, ἵνα μὴ προέρχοιτο.

¹ αύτὸν Xylander: αὐτὸν.
² τοὺς Lambinus: τοῦ.

διέλαβεν Dübner: ἀνέλαβεν.
 Θηριππίδην Reiske: θηριπίδην.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> ἀφεὶs added by Wolf from Photius.

a 364-363 в.с.

Demophon and his father Demeas. Demosthenes accused usin, not his uncle.

for False Witness)

<sup>(</sup>Against Aphobus I.) 4.

### DEMOSTHENES, 844

crates and Plato; then he took Isaeus into his house and for four years exerted himself to imitate his speeches. But Ctesibius says in his work On Philosophy that through Callias of Syraeusc he obtained the speeches of Zethus of Amphipolis and through Charicles of Carystus those of Alcidamas and that he

studied them thoroughly.

When he attained his majority, because he received from his guardians less than was right, he brought them to trial for their administration, in the archonship of Timocrates.a There were three of them: Aphobus, Therippides, and Demophon or Demeas, and he accused the last-named especially, since he was his mother's brother.b He fixed the penalty in each suit at ten talents, and he obtained conviction of all three defendants; but he exacted no part of the and some hon at last on account of age resigned political leadership, Demosthenes was even made choregus.d And when Meidias of the deme of Anagyros struck him as he was performing his duties in the theatre as choregus, he sued him for the act, but on receipt of three thousand drachmas he dropped the suit. They say that when he was still a young man he withdrew into a cave and studied there, shaving half of his head to keep himself from going out; also that he slept on a

<sup>d</sup> An indication of Demosthenes' restored fortune. The choregus was a wealthy man who equipped the chorus for

dramas and superintended its training.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Aristophon, a second-rate but influential politician, was especially active in the decade preceding the choregia of Demosthenes, but no connexion can be perceived between his retirement and Demosthenes' choregia. He lived to be nearly 100 years old (76m).

Ε καὶ ἐπὶ στενῆς κλίνης κοιμᾶσθαι, ἴνα διὰ ταχέων ἀνίστηται τό τε ρῶ μὴ δυνάμενον λέγειν ἐκπονῆσαι, καὶ τὸν ὧμον ἐν τῷ μελετᾶν κινοῦντα ἀπρεπῶς καταπαῦσαι, παραρτήσαντα ὀβελίσκον ἢ ὤς τινες ἔιφίδιον ἐκ τῆς ὀροφῆς, ἴνα φοβούμενος ἢρεμοίη, προβαίνοντα δὲ κατὰ τὴν τῶν λόγων ἰσχὺν ἔσοπτρον ἰσομέγεθες αὐτῷ κατασκευάσαι καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο ἀφορῶντα μελετᾶν, ἴν ἐπανορθώσηται τὰ

Γ έλλείποντα καὶ κατιόντα ἐπὶ τὸ Φαληρικὸν πρὸς τὰς τῶν κυμάτων ἐμβολὰς τὰς σκέψεις ποιεῖσθαι, ἴν', εἴ ποτε θορυβοίη ὁ δῆμος, μὴ ἐκσταίη· τοῦ δὲ πνεύματος αὐτῷ ἐνδέοντος, Νεοπτολέμω τῷ ὑποκριτῆ μυρίας δοῦναι, ἵν' ὄλας περιόδους ἀπνεύστως

 $\lambda \epsilon \gamma \eta$ .

΄ Επεὶ δὲ τῷ πολιτεύεσθαι προσῆλθεν, εἰς δύο διηρημένων τῶν ἐν τῆ πόλει, καὶ τῶν μὲν φιλιτπιζόντων τῶν δ' ὑπέρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας δημηγορούντων, τὴν τῶν ἀντιπολιτευομένων Φιλίππω τάξω εἰλετο· καὶ διὰ' παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου διετέλεσε συμβουλεύων τοῖς κινδυνεύουσιν ὑπὸ Φιλίππω γενέσθαι βοηθεῖν, συμπολιτευόμενος 'Υπερείδη τοῦς ' Αθηναίοις ἐποίησε Θηβαίους Εὐβοεῖς Κερκυραίους Κορινθίους Βοιωτούς, καὶ πολλούς ἄλλους

κυραίους Κορινθίους Βοιωτούς, καὶ πολλούς άλλους πρός τούτοις. ἐκπεσών δέ ποτ' ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ ἀθυμῶν ἐβάδιζεν οἴκοι· συντυχὼν δ' αὐτῷ Εὔνομος ὁ Θριάσιος πρεσβύτης ἤδη ὢν προετρέψατο τὸν Δημοσθένη, μάλιστα δ' δ' ὑποκριτὴς 'Ανδρό-

δè Westermann: δή.
 διὰ added by Lambinus.

# DEMOSTHE NES, 844-845

narrow bed in order to get up quickly, and that since he could not pronounce the sound of R he learned to do so by hard work, and since in declaiming for practice he made an awkward movement with his shoulder, he put an end to the habit by fastening a spit or, as some say, a dagger from the ceiling to make him through fear keep his shoulder motionless. They say, too, that as he progressed in his ability to speak he had a mirror made as large as himself and kept his eyes on it while practising, that he might correct his faults; and that he used to go down to the shore at Phalerum and address his remarks to the roar of the waves, that he might not be disconcerted if the people should ever make a disturbance; and that because he was short of breath he paid Neoptolemus the actor ten thousand drachmas to teach him to speak whole paragraphs without taking breath.

And when he entered upon political life, finding that the public men of the city were divided into two parties, one favouring Philip and the other addressing the populace in defence of liberty, he enrolled himself among those opposed to Philip and always constantly advised the people to support the cause of those peoples which were in danger of being subjected by Philip, in which policy he was associated with Hypereides, Nausicles, Polyeuctus, and Diotimus : and thus he also brought the Thebans, Euboeans, Corcyracans, Corinthians, Bocotians, and many others into alliance with the Athenians. Once he was hissed out of the assembly and was walking home feeling discouraged; but Eunomus of the deme Thria, who was already an old man, happened to meet him and encouraged him, and more than anyone else the actor

(845) γικος είπων ώς οί μεν λόγοι καλώς έχοιεν λείποι δ' Β αὐτῶ τὰ τῆς ὑποκρίσεως, ἀπεμνημόνευσέ τε τῶν έπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λελεγμένων καὶ δή πιστεύσαντα τὸν Δημοσθένη παραδοῦναι αὐτὸν τῶ 'Ανδρονίκω. όθεν έρομένου αὐτόν τινος τί πρώτον έν ρητορική, είπεν " ὑπόκρισις" καὶ τί δεύτερον " ὑπόκρισις" καὶ τί τρίτον "ὑπόκρισις." ελθών δὲ πάλιν εἰς τὰς ἐκκλησίας, νεωτερικώς τινα λένων διεσύρετο, ώς κωμωδηθήναι αὐτὸν ύπ' 'Αντιφάνους και Τιμοκλέους

μὰ γῆν μὰ κρήνας μὰ ποταμούς μὰ νάματα.

διιόσας δὲ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἐν τῷ δήμῳ θόρυβον έκίνησεν. ὤμνυε δὲ καὶ τὸν ᾿Ασκληπιόν, προπαροξύνων 'Ασκλήπιον' και παρεδείκνυεν αύτον όρθως λέγοντα είναι γὰρ τὸν θεὸν ήπιον καὶ ἐπὶ τούτω C πολλάκις έθορυβήθη. σχολάσας δ' Εὐβουλίδη τῶ διαλεκτικώ Μιλησίω ἐπηνωρθώσατο πάντα. νενόμενος δέ καὶ έν τῆ 'Ολυμπιακή πανηγύρει καὶ άκούσας Λαμάχου τοῦ Τερειναίου<sup>2</sup> Φιλίππου καὶ ' Αλεξάνδρου εγκώμιον αναγινώσκοντος Θηβαίων δε καὶ 'Ολυνθίων κατατρέχοντος, παραναστάς άρχαίων ποιητών μαρτυρίας προηνέγκατο περί των Θηβαίοις καὶ 'Ολυνθίοις καλώς πραχθέντων, ώς παύσασθαί

1 Twos added by Meziriacus.

2 Tepewalou Tepwalou Lambinus; Mupwalou Life of Demosthenes, chap, ix.

<sup>...</sup> to sent sent and the fourth century B.C. y of Actors and Acting See . Life of Demosthenes. in 4 418

### DEMOSTHENES, 845

Andronicus, by telling him that his words were excellent but that his delivery was deficient, and then Andronicus declaimed from memory the speech which Demosthenes had delivered in the assembly; whereupon Demosthenes was convinced and put himself in the hands of Andronicus. Therefore when someone asked him what was the first thing in oratory, he replied "Delivery," and what the second, "Delivery," and the third, "Delivery." b And when he spoke again in the assemblies he was hissed for some new-fangled expressions, so that Antiphanes and Timoeles made fun of him in their comedies,

By earth, by founts, by rivers, and by floods,

for it was by swearing in this way that he had caused an uproar in the assembly. He used also to swear by Asclépius, putting the accent on the third syllable from the end, though it is properly on the final syllable; and he offered a proof that he was right, for he said that the god was "mid" (\*pios). For this also he often provoked a clamour from the audience. But by going to school to Eubulides the Milesian philosopher he corrected all his faults. Once when he was at the Olympic festival and heard Lamachus of Tereina reading a eulogy of Philip and Alexander and decrying the Thebans and Olynthians, he stood up and quoted the words of the ancient poets testifying to the glorious deeds of the Thebans and Olynthians an

chap. vii. assigns to Satyrus about the same relation to the orator's training as is here assigned to Andronicus.

b On the meaning, broader than that of our delivery," in Greek rhetoric see Aristotle, Rhetoric, iii., ad init.

c Kock, Com. Att. Fray. ii. p. 128, no. 296. For Demosthenes' metrical oath here parodied see Life of Demosthenes, chap. vii.

(845) τε τὸ λοιπὸν τὸν Λάμαχον καὶ φυγεῖν ἐκ τῆς D πανηγύρεως. Φίλιππον δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἀναφέροντας αὐτῷ τὰς κατ' αὐτοῦ δημηγορίας εἰπεῖν ὅτι '' καὶ αὐτὸς ἄν ἀκούων λέγοντος Δημοσθένους ἐχειροτόνησα τὸν ἄνδρα πρὸς τὸν κατ' ἐμοῦ πόλεμον,'' ἐκάλει δὲ τοὺς μὲν αὐτοῦ λόγους ὁμοίους τοῖς στρατιώταις διὰ τὴν πολεμικὴν' δύναμιν, τοὺς δ' Ἰσοκράτους τοῖς ἀθληταῖς· τέρψιν γὰρ παρέχειν αὐτοὺς θεατρικήν.

Έπτὰ δὲ καὶ τριάκοντα ἔτη γεγονώς, λογιζομένοις από Δεξιθέου είς Καλλίμαχον, εφ' οδ πρός Ολυνθίων ήκε πρεσβεία περί της βοηθείας, έπει Ε έπιέζοντο ύπο Φιλίππου τῷ πολέμω, ἔπεισεν ἐκπέμψαι την βοήθειαν τῷ δ' έξης, ἐφ' οῦ Πλάτων έτελεύτησε, Φίλιππος 'Ολυνθίους κατεστρέψατο. έγνω δ' αὐτὸν καὶ Ξενοφῶν ὁ Σωκρατικὸς ή άρχόμενον η άκμάζοντα τω μέν γάρ τὰ Ἑλληνικά έτελειτο τὰ περί τὴν ἐν Μαντινεία μάχην, ἄρχοντα δε Χαρικλείδην ο δε πρότερον επί Τιμοκράτους είλε τους επιτρόπους. φεύγοντος δ' Αλοχίνου μετά την καταδίκην, ιππω κατεδίωξεν αυτόν του δ' οἰηθέντος αὐτόν συλλαμβάνεσθαι καὶ προσπεσόντος Τ καὶ συγκαλυψαμένου, άναστήσας αὐτὸν παρεμυθήσατο καὶ τάλαντον έδωκεν άργυρίου. καὶ συνεβούλευσε δὲ τῷ δήμω ξενικὸν ἐν Θάσω τρέφειν.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> πολεμικήν Xylander from Photius: πομπικήν.
<sup>2</sup> δè| δ' ἤδη Capps.

<sup>/</sup> Aeschines brought a suit on grounds of illegality against Ctesiphon, who proposed in 336 s.c. that Demosthenes be 420

### DEMOSTHENES, 845

thians, with the result that Lamachus was silenced and fled from the festival. And Philip said to those who reported to him the public speeches of Demosthenes against him, "I myself, if I had heard Demosthenes speak, would have elected the man general to carry on the war against me." And Philip used to say that Demosthenes' speeches were like soldiers because of their warlike power, but those of Isocrates were like athletes, because they afforded pleasure like that of a show.

When he was thirty-seven years old, reckoning from the archonship of Dexitheus a to that of Callimachus, who was a first of the control of th

the Olynthiar . being hard pre the Athenians to send the help; but in the following year, in which Plato died, Philip overthrew the Olynthians. Xenophon, the follower of Socrates, knew him either in his youth or in his prime; for Xenophon's Hellenica ended with the battle of Mantineia and the archonship of Charicles,d and Demosthenes had already before that time, in the archonship of Timocrates, caused the conviction of his guardians. When Aeschines fled after his condemnation, he followed him on horseback, and Aeschines, thinking he was arresting him, fell at his feet and covered his head, but Demosthenes raised him up, encouraged him, and gave him a talent of silver. And he advised the people to support a force

honoured by the city with a golden crown. The case was tried in 330 s.c., when Aeschines delivered his oration Against Ctesiphon and Demosthenes his oration On the Crown. Aeschines received less than one-fifth of the votes of the dicasts, and was therefore condemned to pay a fine of 1000 drachmas and to forfeit the right to bring any similar suit.

# PLUTARCH'S MORALIA καὶ ἐπὶ τούτω τριηράρχης ἐξέπλευσε. σιτώνης

δε νενόμενος και κατηγορηθείς κλοπης άφείθη. Φιλίππου δ' Έλάτειαν καταλαβομένου καὶ αὐτὸς τοις εν Χαιρωνεία μαχεσαμένοις συνεξήλθεν ότε1 καὶ δοκεῖ τὴν τάξιν λιπεῖν, φεύγοντος δ' αὐτοῦ βάτον ἐπιλαβέσθαι τῆς χλαμύδος, τὸν δ' ἐπιστραφόντα εἰπεῖν '' ζώγρει.'' εἶχε δὲ καὶ ἐπίσημον ἐπὶ τῆς ἀσπίδος '' ἀγαθῆ τύχη.'' ἐἶπε μέντοι τὸν έπιτάφιον έπὶ τοῖς πεσοῦσι, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ποὸς την επισκευήν της πόλεως τη επιμελεία προσελθών καὶ τῶν τειχῶν ἐπιμελητὴς χειροτονηθείς ἀπό τῆς 846 ίδίας οὐσίας εἰσήνεγκε το ἀναλωθέν ἀργύριον, μνᾶς έκατόν επέδωκε δε καί θεωροίς μυρίας τριήρους τ έπιβάς περιέπλευσε τούς συμμάχους άργυρολογών. έφ' οίς πολλάκις έστεφανώθη, πρότερον μέν ύπο Δημομελούς 'Αριστονίκου' Υπερείδου χρυσώ στεφάνω, τελευταίον δ' ύπο Κτησιφώντος και γραφέντος τοῦ ψηφίσματος παρανόμων ύπο Διοδότου καὶ Αἰσχίνου, ἀπολογούμενος ἐνίκησεν, ώστε τὸ πέμπτον μέρος των ψήφων τον διώκοντα μή μεταλαβεῖν.

. "Υστέρον δ' 'Αλεξάνδρου ἐπὶ τὴν 'Ασίαν στρατευομένου καὶ φυγόντος 'Αρπάλου μετὰ χρημάτων

3 'Αριστονίκου Lambinus: ἀριστονείκου.

o This indicates that he had not disgraced himself.

<sup>1 ° ,</sup> W.  $\cdot$  ,  $\cdot$  .  $\cdot$ 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> In 338 B.c., when Philip destroyed the independence of Greece.

b Apparently a jest in connexion with the story of his cowardice.

#### DEMOSTHENES, 845-846

of mercenaries at Thasos, and sailed out as commander of a trireme on that occasion. After he had been in charge of the food supply he was accused of embezzlement but was acquitted. When Philip had taken Elateia Demosthenes himself went out with those who fought at Chaeroneia, on which occasion it appears that he deserted his post, and that, as he was running away, a bramble-bush caught his cloak, whereupon he turned and said, "Take me alive." And he had as a device on his shield the words "With good fortune." b However, he delivered the funeral address for those who fell.º And after that, directing his efforts to the improvement of the city and being clected commissioner in charge of the fortifications, he contributed out of his own pocket the funds expended, amounting to one hundred minae; he also presented ten thousand drachmas d for sacred envoys, and he made a cruise in a trireme to the allied cities collecting money. For these activities he was crowned many times, on carlier occasions on motions offered by Demomeles, Aristonicus, and Hypereides with golden crowns, and the last time on the motion of Ctesiphon; and when the decree granting this honour was attacked as illegal by Diodotus and Acschines, he was so successful in his defence that the accuser did not receive one-fifth of the votes.

And at a later time, when Alexander was campaigning in Asia and Harpalus f came fleeing to Athens

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> On these contributions cf. Aeschines, iii. (Against Ctesiphon) 17, and Demosthenes, xviii. (On the Crown) 118.

Delegations sent to sacred places to attend festivals and the like.

Harpalus, treasurer of Alexander, embezzled a large sum and fled first to Tarsus, then, in 324 s.c., to Greece.

846) εἰς ᾿Αθήνας, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐκώλυσεν αὐτὸν εἰσδενθήναι επειδή δ' είσεπλευσε, λαβών δαρεικούς Β χιλίους μετετάξατο βουλομένων τ' 'Αθηναίων Αντιπάτρω παραδούναι τον άνθρωπον άντείπεν, ἔγραψέ τ' ἀποθέσθαι τὰ χρήματα εἰς ἀκρόπολιν μηδέ τῷ δήμω τὸν ἀριθμόν εἰπόντα φήσαντος δ' Αρπάλου έπτακόσια συγκατακομίσαι τάλαντα, τὰ άνενεχθέντα είς την ακρόπολιν εδρέθη τριακόσια καὶ πεντήκοντα ή ολίγω πλείονα ως φησι Θιλόχορος μετά δε ταῦτα φυγόντος Αρπάλου εκ τοῦ δεσμωτηρίου, εν ῷ εφυλάσσετο μέχρις ἃν ἀφίκηταί τις παρ' 'Αλεξάνδρου, καὶ πορευθέντος είς την Κρήτην η ώς ένιοι έπὶ Ταίναρον της Λακωνικής, Ο αίτίαν ἔσχεν ὁ Δημοσθένης δωροδοκίας, ώς διά τοῦτο μήτε τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν ἀνακομισθέντων μεμηνυκώς μήτε την των φυλασσόντων αμέλειαν. είσαχθεὶς δ' εἰς δικαστήριον ὑπὸ Υπερείδου Πυθέου Μενεσαίχμου 'Ιμεραίου Πατροκλέους,' οι εποίησαν καταγνώναι αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐξ ᾿Αρείου πάγου βουλήν, καὶ άλους ἔφυγε, πενταπλασίονα ἀποτίσαι μη δυνάμενος (είχε δ' αιτίαν τριάκοντα τάλαντα λαβείν), η ώς ένιοι ούχ ύπομείνας την κρίσιν. μετά δε τοῦτον τον χρόνον των Αθηναίων Πολύευκτον πεμφάντων D πρεσβευτήν πρός το κοινόν των 'Αρκάδων, ωστ' αποστήναι αὐτούς τής των Μακεδόνων συμμαχίας, καὶ τοῦ Πολυεύκτου πείσαι μή δυναμένου, έπιφανείς Δημοσθένης και συνειπών έπεισεν. έφ' ώ θαυμασθείς μετά χρόνον τινά κάθοδον εύρατο, ψηφί-

<sup>1</sup> μηδὲ Photius : ήδη.

αυγκατακομίσαι . . . εὐρέθη supplied from Photius,
 τριακόσια καὶ πεντήκοντα Dübner: ἡ πεντήκοντα MSS.;
 όκτὰ καὶ τριακόσια Photius,

<sup>4</sup> ωs Westermann: καί.

### DEMOSTHENES, 846

with money, at first Demosthenes kept him from being admitted, but after he had entered the harbour, Demosthenes accepted one thousand daries and when the Athenians wished Antipater, he spoke against it and made a motion that Harpalus deposit the money on the Acropolis without even stating the amount to the people; and although Harpalus stated that he had brought with him seven hundred talents, that which was taken up to the Acropolis was found to amount to only three hundred and fifty or a little more, as Philochorus says. And after this, when Harpalus escaped from the prison in which he was being kept until a representative of Alexander should arrive, and had gone to Crete or, as some say, to Taenarum in Laconia, Demosthenes was accused of bribe-taking and of having this reason for not mentioning the amount of the money taken up or the carelessness of the guard. He was brought to trial by Hypereides, Pytheas, Menesaechmus, Himeraeus, and Patrocles, and they obtained his conviction by the Senate of the Areopagus; and after his conviction he went into exile, not being able to pay back five times the amount (he was accused of having accepted thirty talents), or, as some say, he did not wait for the trial. After this time the Athenians sent Polyeuctus as envoy to the commonwealth of the Arcadians in order to detach them from their alliance with the Macedonians, and when Polyeuctus was unable to persuade them, Demosthenes appeared to help him and did persuade them. For this he was admired, and after some time he was permitted to return, a decree in his favour having been passed

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Πατροκλέους Λmyot (Vatic.): προκλέους.

(846) σματος γραφέντος καὶ τριήρους αποσταλείσης. τῶν δ' 'Αθηναίων ψηφισαμένων οίς' ώφειλε τριάκοντα ταλάντοις κοσμήσαι<sup>8</sup> αὐτὸν τὸν βωμὸν τοῦ σωτήρος Διός εν Πειραιεί και άφεισθαι, τοῦτο γράψαντος τὸ ψήφισμα Δήμωνος Παιανιέως, δς ήν ανεψιός

αὐτῶ, πάλιν ἐπί τούτοις ἦν πολιτευόμενος.

'Αντιπάτρου δ' είς Λάμειαν ύπο τῶν Ἑλλήνων Ε συγκλεισθέντος, των 'Αθηναίων εθαγγέλια θυόντων. πρός τινα των έταίρων 'Αγησίστρατον έφη οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν γνώμην ἔχειν τοῖς ἄλλοις περὶ τῶν πρανμάτων " επίσταμαι γάρ" είπεῖν " τους "Ελληνας στάδιον μεν πολεμείν και είδότας και δυναμένους. δόλιγον δ' οὐκέτι." Φάρσαλον δ' έλόντος 'Αντιπάτρου καὶ πολιορκήσειν ἀπειλοῦντος 'Αθηναίους. εί μή τους ρήτορας εκδοίησαν, καταλιπών ο Δημοσθένης την πόλιν έφυγε πρώτον μεν είς Αίγιναν έπὶ τὸ Αἰάκειον καθεδούμενος, φοβηθεὶς δ' εἰς Καλαυρίαν μετέστη. ἐκδιδόναι δὲ τοὺς ρήτορας Ε των 'Αθηναίων ψηφισαμένων κακείνον, καθέζετο ίκέτης ἐν τῷ τοῦ Ποσειδώνος ίερῷ· ἐλθόντος δ' ἐπ' αὐτὸν 'Αρχίου τοῦ Φυγαδοθήρου ἐπικαλουμένου, ος παρέβαλεν 'Αναξιμένει τῷ ρήτορι καὶ πείθοντος αὐτον ἀναστῆναι, ὡς φίλον 'Αντιπάτρω γενησόμενον, είπεν ὅτι ΄΄ οὔτε, ὅτε ἐτραγώδεις, ἔπειθές με ούτε νθν πείσεις συμβουλεύων " τοθ δ' έπιχειρούντος βιάζεσθαι, εκώλυσαν αὐτὸν οί κατά

ols Photius: eis a.

<sup>1</sup> γραφέντος καὶ τριήρους Photius: γραφέντος τριήρους.

<sup>3</sup> ταλάντοις κοσμήσαι supplied by Bernardakis after Photius 4 ἐπὶ Dübner: ἐν. and Sintenis.

<sup>5</sup> το Αλάκειον Xylander: τον άκραΐον.

a A stadium was about equal to a furlong and was the usual short-distance run. The dolichos was twenty stadia. 426

#### DEMOSTHENES, 846

and a trireme dispatched to bring him. When the Athenians passed a decree proposed by his cousin Demon of Paeania that he should use the thirty talents which he owed in adorning the altar of Zeus the Saviour at Peiraeus and should then be absolved,

he returned on those conditions to public life.

When Antipater was shut up in Lamia by the Greeks, and the Athenians were making thankofferings for the good news, he said to his friend Agesistratus that he did not agree with the rest about these matters, "for," he said, "I know that the Greeks have both the knowledge and the strength for a stadium dash a in warfare, but cannot hold out to besiege the Athenians unless they surrendered the orators, Demosthenes left the city and fled first to Aegina to sit as suppliant in the sanctuary of Aeacus, but was frightened and changed over to Calauria; and when the Athenians voted to surrender the orators including himself, he took his seat as a suppliant there in the temple of Poseidon. And when Archias, b nicknamed "Exile-Hunter," who had been a pupil of the orator Anaximenes, came to fetch him and urged him to leave his sanctuary, indicating that Antipater would receive him as a friend, he said, "Your acting in tragedy was not convincing to me, nor will your advice be convincing now"; and when Archias tried to use force, the authorities of the city prevented him, and Demo-

b This Archias was a tragic actor recorded as victor at the Lenaea circa 330 n.c. in I.O. ii. 2925 n. Plutarch, Life of Demosthenes, chap. xviii. names several other prominent Athenians "hunted down" by him, among them Hypercides. Cf. p. 441 below. Another version of Demosthenes' retort to Archias is given bid. 39.

τὴν πόλιν καὶ Δημοσθένης ἔφη '' οὐ σωτηρίας δεόμενος κατέφυγον εἰς Καλαυρίαν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐλέγξων 847 Μακεδόνας καὶ τὰ τῶν θεῶν βιασομένους <sup>3</sup> '' αἰτήσας τε γραμματεῖον ἔγραψεν, ὡς μὲν Δημήτριος Μάγνης φησί, τὸ ἐπὶ τῆς εἰκόνος αὐτοῦ ἐλεογεῖον ἐπιγεγραμμένον ὑπὸ τῶν 'Αθηναίων ὕστερον

είπερ ισην ρώμην γνώμη, Δημόσθενες, ἔσχες, ούποτ' ἄν Ἑλλήνων ἢρξεν "Αρης Μακεδών.

κείται δ' ή' εἰκὼν πλησίον τοῦ περισχοινίσματος καὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν, ὑπὸ Πολυεύκτου πεποιημένη. ὡς δ' ἔνοί φασι, τοῦτο εὑρέθη γεγραμμένον " Δημοσθένης ' Αντιπάτρω χαίρειν." ἀποθανεῖν δ' αὐτὸν Φιλόχορος μέν φησι φάρμακον πίόντα, Σάτυρος δ' ὁ συγγραφεὺς τὸν κάλαμον Β πεφαρμάχθαι, ῷ γράφειν ἤρξατο τὴν ἐπιστολήν, οῦ γευσάμενον ἀποθανεῖν "Ερατοσθένης δ' ἐκ πολλοῦ δεδοικότα Μακεδόνας περὶ τῷ βραχίονι κρίκον περικεῖαθαι πεφαρμαγμένον. εἰοὶ δ' οἱ φασι συσχόντα αὐτὸν τὸ πνεῦμα ἀποθανεῖν οὶ δ' εἶπον τοῦ κατὰ τὴν σφραγίδα φαρμάκου γευσάμενον. ἐβίω δ' ώς μὲν οἱ τὰ πλείω λέγουσιν ἔτη ἐβδομήκοντα, ὡς δ' οἱ τὰ ἐλάττω, ἐπτὸ καὶ ἐξήκοντα. ἐπολιτεύσατο δὲ δίο κοὶ εἴκσιον.

1 καὶ τὰ Photius: καὶ κατὰ.

2 βιασομένους Dübner: βιασαμένους.

3 % added by Dübner.

<sup>4</sup> ἐβίω . . . ἐπολιτεύσατο Salmasius from Photius : lacking in the Mss.

See Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Graec. ii. p. 331.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>b</sup> This was a large area in the Market Place which was enclosed at ostracisms, and perhaps at other times, within a 428

#### DEMOSTHENES, 846-847

sthenes said, "I took refuge in Calauria, not to save my life, but to convict the Macedonians of using force even against the sanctuaries of the gods," and asking for writing materials he wrote—so Demetrius of Magnesia says—the distich which was later inscribed by the Athenians upon his statue:

Had you possessed but the strength, Demosthenes, like to your spirit,

Never would Macedon's war Greece to submission have brought."

The statue, a work of Polyeuctus, is placed near the Roped-off Enclosure <sup>b</sup> and the altar of the Twelve Gods. But according to some authorities he was found to have written "Demosthenes to Antipater, greeting." <sup>c</sup> Philochorus <sup>d</sup> says that he died by drinking poison, but Satyrus the historian says that the pen with which he began to write the letter was poisoned, and he died by sucking it; and Eratosthenes says that for a long time he wore a poisoned bracelet on his arm through fear of the Macedonians. There are those who say that he died by holding his breath, but others assert that it was by sucking poison from his seal ring. He lived, according to those who give the higher number, seventy years, according to those who give the lower, sixty-seven. He was active in politics twenty-two years.

barrier of rope for the better control of the popular assembly. Since the contiguous altar of the Twelve Gods has recently vide Shear in Hesperia, iv. pp. 385 ff.) been uncovered in the northern part of the Agora, this enclosure can no longer, with Judeich (Topographie von Athen?, p. 250), be placed in the south-west area, on the slopes of the Arcopagus.

 These were the words usually employed at the beginning of letters.

<sup>d</sup> Müller, Frag. Hist. Graec. i. p. 407.

(847) 'Ηνίκα δὲ Φίλιππος ἐτεθνήκει, λαμπρὰν ἐσθῆτα προῆλθεν ἔχων, καίτοι τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτοῦ νεωστὶ τετελευτηκυίας, ἐφηδόμενος τῷ τοῦ Μακεδόνος C θανάτω, συνήργησε δὲ καὶ Θηβαίοις πρὸς 'Αλέξανδρον πολεμοῦσι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους 'Έλληνας ἐπέρρωσεν ἀεί· διόπερ Θήβας κατασκάψας ἐξήτει' παρ' 'Αθηναίων 'Αλέξανδρος αὐτόν, ἀπειλῶν, εἰ μὴ δοίησαν. στρατευομένω δ' αὐτῷ ἐπὶ Πέρσας καὶ αἰτοῦντι ναυτικὸν παρ' 'Αθηναίων ἀντεῖπεν, κολλον εἰπών, εἰ οὐ κατὰ τῶν παρασχόντων χρήσεται.

εὐδοκίμων, 'Ήλιοδώρου τινὸς θυγατρός θυγατέρα δὲ μίαν ἔσχεν, ἢ παῖς ἔτι οὖσα πρὸ γάμου ἐτελεύτησεν είχε δὲ καὶ ἀδελφήν, ἐξ ἢς καὶ Λάχου Λευκονοέως ἀδελφίδοῦς αὐτῷ Δημοχάρης ἐγένετο, ἀνὴρ καὶ κατὰ πόλεμον ἀγαθὸς καὶ κατὰ τοὺς ποD λιτικοὺς λόγους οὐδενὸς χείρων. ἔστι δ' αὐτοῦ εἰκὰν ἐν τῷ πρυτανείψ εἰσιόντων πρὸς τὴν ἐστίαν ἐν δεξιᾳ ὁ πρῶτος περιεζωσμένος ἄμα τῷ ἱματίῳ καὶ ξίφος οὐτω γὰρ δημηγορῆσαι λέγεται, ἡνίκα 'Αντίπατρος ἐξήτει' τοὺς ῥήτορας. χρόνῳ δ' ὕστερον 'Αθηναῖοι σίτησίν τ' ἐν πρυτανείψ τοῖς συγγενέσι τοῦ Δημοσθένους ἔδοσαν καὶ αὐτῷ τετελευτηκότι τὴν εἰκόνα ἀνέθεσαν ἐν. ἀγορᾳ ἐπὶ Γοργίου ἄρχοντος, αἰτησαμένου αὐτῷ τὸς δωρεὰς

Κατέλιπε δε δύο παίδας εκ μιας γυναικός των

1 έξήτει Sintenis: έζήτει. 2 εὐδοκίμων Meziriacus: εὐδοκίμου. 3 δὲ added by Dübner. Αεμκομένος Westerman: λεικομένο

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Λευκονοέως Westermann: λευκονέως, δ έν added by Westermann.

<sup>6</sup> έξήτει Lambinus: έζήτει.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> 336 s.c. <sup>b</sup> See Life of Demosthenes, chap. xxii.

### DEMOSTHENES, 847

When Philip died, Demosthenes came out from his house dressed in a white garment, in spite of the fact that his daughter had lately died, thus showing his joy at the death of the Maccdonian. He also assisted the Thebans when they were at war with Alexander, and he always encouraged the rest of the Greeks; for which reason Alexander after razing Thebes demanded him of the Athenians and threatened them if they should refuse to surrender him. And when Alexander was making war on the Persians and called upon the Athenians for a naval force, he spoke against it, saying that it was not clear whether Alexander would not employ the force against those who furnished it.

He left two sons by one wife of noble family, daughter of a certain Heliodorus; and he had one daughter who died unmarried while still a child. He had also a sister to whom and her husband Laches of Leuconoë his nephew Demochares was born, a man both brave in war and inferior to none in political speeches. There is a statue of him in the Prytaneum. the first on the right as you go in towards the hearth, wearing both a cloak and a sword; for he is said to have worn " . the people when Antipater irrender of the orators. At a later time the Athenians voted maintenance in the Prytaneum to the relatives of Demosthenes and erected to him after his death the statue in the Market-place,d in the archonship of Gorgias.e The grants to him were requested by his nephew

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>c</sup> The Prytaneum was the building in which the Prytanes who formed the executive committee of the Senate held their meetings. Maintenance in the Prytaneum was often voted in recognition of service to the state.

d See above, 847 A.

τοῦ ἀδελφιδοῦ Δημοχάρους. Ες καὶ αὐτῷ πάλιν δ υἰὸς Λάχης Δημοχάρους Λευκονοεὺς ἢτήσατο δωρες επό Πυθαράτου ἄρχοντος, δεκάτω ὕστερον ἔτει, εἰς τὴν τῆς εἰκόνος στάσιν ἐν ἀγορῷ καὶ σίτησιν ἐν πρυτανείω αὐτῷ τε καὶ ἐκγόνων ἀεὶ τῷ πρεσβυτάτω καὶ προεδρίαν ἐν ἄπασι τοῖς ἀγῶσι. καὶ ἔστι τὰ ψηφίσματα ὑπὲρ ἀμφοτέρων ἀναγεγραμμένα, ἡ δ' εἰκὼν τοῦ Δημοχάρους εἰς τὸ πρυτανείον μετεκομίσθη, περὶ ἦς προείρηται.

Φέρονται δ' αὐτοῦ λόγοι γνήσιοι έξήκοντα πέντε, φασὶ δέ τινες καὶ ἀσώτως αὐτον βιῶναι, γυναικείαις τ' ἐσθῆσι χρώμενον καὶ κωμάζοντα ἐκάστοτε, ὅθεν Βάταλον ἐπικληθῆναι οἱ δ' ὑποκοριστικῶς ἀπὸ τοῦ

Το δνόματος τής τροφοῦ λέγουσιν αὐτὸν οὕτω λελοιδορήσθαι. Διογέτης δ' δ κύων θεασάμενος αὐτόν
ποτ ἐν καπηλείω αἰσχυνόμενον καὶ ὑποχωροῦντα,
εἶπεν '΄ ὅσω μαλλον ὑποχωρεῖς, τοσούτω μαλλον ἐν
τῷ καπηλείω ἐση.'΄ ἔλεγε δ' αὐτὸν παρασκώπτων
ἐν μὲν τοῖς λόγοις Σκύθην εἶναι, ἐν δὲ ταῖς μάχαις
ἀστικόν. ἔλαβε δὲ καὶ παρ ' Ἐφιάλτου χρυσιό
ἐνὸς τῶν δημαγωγῶν, ὅς πρεσβεύσας πρὸς βασιλέα
χρήματα φέρων ἡκε λάθρα, ὅπως διανείμας τοῖς
δημαγωγοῖς τὸν πρὸς Φίλιππον ἐξάψη πόλεμον
δεθε καὶ ἰδία αὐτὸν δωροδοκήσαι παρὰ βασιλέως φου
δασεικοῦς τομαγιλίους. ' Αναξίλων ἔς των ἸΩρείστον
δασεικοῦς τομαγιλίους. ' Αναξίλων ἔς των ἸΩρείστον

848 καὶ ίδία αὐτὸν δωροδοκῆσαι παρὰ βασίλέως φασὶ δαρεικοὺς τρισχιλίους. 'Αναξίλαν' δέ τινα 'Ωρείτην, ξένον αὐτοῦ γεγονότα, συλλαβὼν ἐβασάνιζεν ὡς κατάσκοπον, οὐδὲν δ' ἐξειπόντα ἐψπφίσατο τοῦς

1 Λευκονοεύς Westermann: λευκονεύς.

2 2 added by Vylender.

Demosthenes, xviii. (On the Crown), ainst Ctesiphon), 223.

### DEMOSTHENES, 847-848

Demochares, for whom in turn his son Laches, son of Demochares, of Leuconoë, asked in the archonship of Pytharatus, the tenth year after, for grants extending to the erection of the statue in the Marketplace, maintenance in the Prytaneum for Demochares and his eldest descendant in perpetuity, and front seats at all competitive spectacles. And the decrees in favour of both are inscribed, but the statue of Demochares mentioned above was transferred to the

Prvtaneum.

Sixty-five genuine speeches of Demosthenes are Some say that he lived a dissolute life, wearing women's clothes and indulging in revels on every occasion, on which account he was nicknamed Batalus b: but others say that this was a diminutive derived from the name of his nurse and was given to him in reproach. And Diogenes the Cynic, seeing him once in a tavern looking ashamed and trying to withdraw from sight, said, "The more you withdraw, the more you will be in the tavern." And he jeered at him, saying that in his speeches he was a Scythian, but in battle a city man. He received money from Ephialtes also, one of the politicians, who had been on an embassy to the King of Persia and came secretly bringing funds for distribution among the politicians for the purpose of stirring up the war against Philip; and they say that he received a private bribe of three thousand daries from the King. He arrested a certain Anaxilas of Oreus, who had been a guest-friend of his, subjected him to torture as a spy, and when he confessed nothing proposed a decree

a 271-270 в.с.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>b</sup> Cf. Aeschines, i. (Against Timarchus) 131. The nickname is also said to refer to his stammering.

(848) ἔνδεκα παραδοῦναι. λέγειν δέ ποτε κωλυόμενος ὑπ' 'Αθηναίων ἐν ἐκκλησία βραχὸ ἔφη βούλεσθαι πρὸς αύτους είπειν, των δε σιωπησάντων "νεανίας." είπε, "θέρους ώρα εμισθώσατο εξ άστεος όνον Μέγαράδε μεσούσης δε της ημέρας και σφοδρώς φλέγοντος του ήλίου, έκατερος αὐτῶν ἐβούλετο ύποδύεσθαι ύπο την σκιάν είργον δ' αλλήλους, ο Β μέν μεμισθωκέναι τὸν ὄνον οὖ τὴν σκιὰν λέγων, ὁ δε μεμισθωμένος την πασαν έχειν εξουσίαν''· και ταθτ' είπων άπήει. των δ' 'Αθηναίων έπισχόντων καὶ δεομένων πέρας ἐπιθεῖναι τῷ λόγῳ, " εἶθ' ὑπὲρ μεν όνου σκιᾶς, " ἔφη, " βούλεσθε ἀκούειν, λέγοντος δε ύπερ σπουδαίων πραγμάτων ου βούλεσθε." Πώλου δέ ποτε τοῦ ὑποκριτοῦ πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰπόντος, ότι δυσίν ήμέραις άγωνισάμενος τάλαντον λάβοι μισθόν, "έγω δ'," είπε, "πέντε τάλαντα, μίαν ημέραν σιωπήσας." παραφθαρείς δε την φωνήν εν έκκλησία και θορυβηθείς τους υποκριτάς έφη δείν κρίνειν έκ της φωνής τους δε ρήτορας έκ της C γνώμης, ονειδίσαντος δ' αὐτὸν Ἐπικλέους ὅτι ἀεὶ σκέπτοιτο, " αἰσχυνοίμην γὰρ ἄν¹," εἶπεν " εἰ τηλικούτω δήμω συμβουλεύων αὐτοσχεδιάζοιμι." ίστοροθσί δ' ώς οὐδε λύχνον έσβεσεν, άχρι πεντήκοντα έτων έγένετο, διακριβών τους λόγους. αὐτός δέ φησιν ύδροποσία χρήσασθαι. έγνω δ' αὐτὸν καὶ Λυσίας ὁ ρήτωρ καὶ Ισοκράτης είδε πολιτευόμενον άχρι της εν Χαιρωνεία μάχης, καί τινες των Σωκρατικών φιλοσόφων. τους δε πλείστους λόγους

αν added by Dübner.
 διακριβών Lambinus: διακρίνων.

<sup>&</sup>quot; An ass's shadow" was proverbial for things utterly trivial.

### DEMOSTHENES, 848

that he be handed over to the executioners. And once when he was being prevented by the Athenians from speaking in the assembly, he said that he only wished to speak briefly to them, and when they became silent he said, "A young man in the summer time hired an ass to go from the city to Megara. When noon came and the sun was blazing fiercely, both he and the owner of the ass wished to lie down in its shadow. Each tried to prevent the other from so doing, the owner maintaining that he had rented him the ass, not its shadow, and the one who had hired the ass that he had complete rights in him." When he had said this, he began to go away; and when the Athenians stopped him and asked him to tell the rest of the tale, he said, "You are willing to listen when I speak about the shadow of an ass, a but when I speak of serious matters, you refuse." Once when Polus the actor told him that he received a talent as pay for acting two days, he replied, "And I five talents for being silent one day." And when his voice failed in the assembly and the people jeered at him, he said "It is actors who should be judged by their voices, but statesmen by their opinions." And when Epicles rebuked him for always preparing his speeches, he said, " I should be ashamed to speak off-hand to such a great people." They say that he never put out his lamp until he was fifty years old-polishing his speeches. And he says himself that he was a waterdrinker.b Lysias the orator was acquainted with him, and Isocrates saw him engaged in public affairs until the battle of Chaeroneia, as did some of the Socratic philosophers. He delivered most of his

b Demosthenes, vi. (Second Philippic) 30; xix. (False Legation) 46.

(848) εἶπεν αὐτοσχεδιάσας, εὖ πρὸς αὐτὸ¹ πεφυκώς. Το πρῶτος δ᾽ ἔγραψε στεφανωθῆναι αὐτὸν χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ ᾿Αριστόνικος Νικοφάνους ᾿Αναγυράσιος, ὑπωμόσατο δὲ Διώνδας.

### Θ'. ΥΠΕΡΕΙΔΗΣ

Υπερείδης Τλαυκίππου μὲν ἢν πατρὸς τοῦ Διονυσίου, τῶν δὲ δήμων Κολλυτεύς. ἔσχε δ΄ υἰὸν ὁμώνυμον τῷ πατρὶ Γλαύκιππον, ῥήτορα καὶ λόγους συγγράψαντα οῦ πάλω ᾿Αλφίνους ἐγένετο. ἀκροατὴς δὲ Πλάτωνος γενόμενος τοῦ φιλοσόφου ἄμα Λυκούργω καὶ Ἰσοκράτους τοῦ ρήτορος Ε ἐπολιτεύσατο ᾿Αθήνησι, καθ ὁν χρόνον ᾿Αλέξανδρος τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἦπτετο πραγμάτων καὶ περὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν ὧν ἤτει παρ ᾿Αθηναίων ἀντείπε, καὶ περὶ τῶν τριήρων συνεβούλευσε δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ Ταυάρω ξενικὸν μὴ διαλῦσαι, οῦ Χάρης ἡγείτος, εὐνόως πρὸς τὸν στρατηγὸν διακείμενος. τὸ δὲ πρῶτον μισθοῦ δίκας ἔλεγε. δόξας δὲ κεκοινωνηκέναι τῶν Περσικῶν χρημάτων Ἐφιάλτη τριήραρχός τε αἰρεθείς, ὅτε Βυζάντιον ἐπολιόρκει Φίλιππος, βοηθὸς Βυζαντίοις ἐκπεμφθείς, κατὰ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν τοῦτον ὑπέστη χορηγήσαι, τῶν ἄλλων

τον δε δήμον. Αυκουργω ωιμιι: Αυκούργου.

This does not agree with what has been said above about

his preparing all his speeches.

<sup>b</sup> In the Athenian courts of law the parties to a suit were obliged to speak in person, therefore those who were not sure of their own ability hired others to write their speeches, which they learned by heart and delivered.

436

#### DEMOSTHENES—HYPEREIDES, 848

speeches extemporaneously, as he was well endowed for that by nature.<sup>a</sup> The first who moved that he be crowned with a crown of gold was Aristonicus of Anagyrus, son of Nicophanes, but Diondas prevented it by an affidavit.

### IX. HYPEREIDES

Hypereides was the son of Glaucippus and grandson of Dionysius, of the deme of Collyte. He had a son, Glaucippus, named afte . 1C.1L., was an orator and writer of had a son Alphinous. After being a pupil of the philosopher Plato, along with Lycurgus, and of the orator Isocrates, Hypereides entered upon public life at Athens at the time when Alexander was interfering in the affairs of Greece. And he spoke in opposition to him concerning the generals whose surrender he demanded of the Athenians and concerning the triremes. He also advised against disbanding the mercenary force at Taenarum under the command of Chares, since he was well disposed towards that general. At first he pleaded in suits at law in return for a fee. And since he was believed to have shared the Persian funds of with Ephialtes, and was elected trierarch when Philip was besieging Byzantium, he was sent out to aid the Byzantines: and in that year he bore the expense of a chorus,d

The comic poets of the time were very free with such institutions, e.g. Timocles in his Delos (Kock, Com. Att. Frag. ii, p

men only.

to the belief that he partook of the Persian funds, or that belief may have led to the imposition of the offices.

Ε λειτουργίας πάσης ἀφειμένων. ἔγραψε δὲ καὶ Δημοσθένει τιμάς, καὶ τοῦ ψηφίσματος ὑπὸ Διώνδα παρανόμων γραφέντος απέφυνε, φίλος δ' ών τοις περί Δημοσθένη και Λυσικλέα και Λυκοθργον, οὐκ ένέμεινε μέγρι τέλους άλλ' έπεὶ Λυσικλής μέν καὶ Λυκοθργος ετεθνήκεσαν, Δημοσθένης δ' ώς παρ' Αρπάλου δωροδοκήσας εκρίνετο, προγειρισθείς εξ άπάντων (μόνος γαρ έμεινεν άδωροδόκητος) κατηνόρησεν αὐτοῦ. κριθεὶς δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ 'Αριστονείτονος 849 παρανόμων έπὶ τῶ γράψαι μετὰ Χαιρώνειαν τοὺς μετοίκους πολίτας ποιήσασθαι τούς δε δούλους έλευθέρους, ίερα δε και παίδας και γυναϊκας είς τον Πειραιά ἀποθέσθαι, ἀπέφυνεν, αἰτιωμένων δέ τινων αὐτὸν ώς παριδόντα πολλούς νόμους ἐν τῶ ψηφίσματι, " ἐπεσκότει," ἔφη, " μοι τὰ Μακεδόνων οπλα '' καὶ '' οὐκ² ἐγὼ τὸ ψήφισμα ἔγραψα ἡ δ' ἐν Χαιρωνεία μάχη." μετὰ μέντοι τοῦτο νεκρῶν έδωκεν αναίρεσιν ό Φίλιππος φοβηθείς, πρότερον ου δούς τοις έλθουσιν έκ Λεβαδείας κήρυξιν. ύστερον δὲ μετὰ τὰ περὶ Κραννῶνα συμβάντα έξαιτηθείς ύπ' 'Αντιπάτρου καὶ μέλλων εκδίδοσθαι Β ύπο τοῦ δήμου ἔφυγεν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως εἰς Αἴγιναν αμα τοις κατεψηφισμένοις και συμβαλών Δημο-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Δημοσθένει Reiske after Photius: Δημοσθένους.
<sup>2</sup> καὶ οὐκ Photius: οὐκ.

<sup>8</sup> Κραννώνα Blass: κράνωνα.

a The shadow of the shields made him fail to see the laws (taking παριδόντα literally).

#### HYPEREIDES, 848-849

when others were released from all contributions to the public service. He also proposed honours for Demosthenes, and when suit was brought by Diondas on the ground that the decree was contrary to law, he was acquitted. Although he was a friend of Demosthenes, Lysicles, Lycurgus, and their associates, he did not remain so to the end; but when Lysicles and Lycurgus were dead and Demosthenes was being tried for receiving bribes from Harpalus, he was chosen from all the orators (for he alone was unbribed) and brought the accusation against him. And when he was brought to trial by Aristogeiton for illegal conduct in proposing a decree after the battle of Chaeroneia to grant citizenship to the resident aliens, to set the slaves free, and to put the sacred objects. the children, and the women in Peiraeus for safekeeping, he was acquitted. And when certain persons blamed him for having disregarded many laws in his decree, he said, "The shields of the Macedonians cast a shadow a over my eyes," and "It was not I, but the battle of Chaeroneia, that proposed the decree." After this, however, Philip was frightened and granted permission to remove the bodies of the slain, though before that he had refused it to the heralds who came from Lebadeia. Later, however, after the battle of Crannon, when his surrender was demanded by Antipater and the people was on the point of surrendering him, he fled from the city to Aggina along with those against whom decrees had been passed. Here he met Demosthenes and excused

b After the death of Alexander the Great the Greeks revolted, but they lacked leadership, and when they were defeated in an engagement at Crannon, Thesaly, in August 322 n.c., the Greek states came to terms separately with Antipater.

849) σθένει καὶ περὶ τῆς διαφορᾶς ἀπολογησάμενος, ἀπαλλαγεὶς ἐκεῖθεν, ὑπ' ᾿Αρχίου τοῦ Φυγαδοθήρου ἐπικληθέντος, Θουρίου μὲν τὸ γένος ὑποκριτοῦ δὲ τὰ πρώτα τότε δὲ τῷ 'Αντιπάτρω βοηθοῦντος. έλήφθη πρὸς βίαν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ποσειδώνος ένόμενος τοῦ ἀνάλματος καὶ ἀχθεὶς πρὸς 'Αντίπατρον είς Κόρινθον, έπειτα βασανιζόμενος, διέφαγε την γλωτταν, ώστε μηδεν έξειπειν των της πόλεως απορρήτων δυνηθηναι και ούτως Ο έτελεύτησε, Πυανεψιώνος ενάτη ίσταμένου. "Ερμιππος δέ φησιν αὐτὸν γλωττοτομηθηναι είς Μακεδονίαν ελθόντα καὶ ριφήναι ἄταφον, 'Αλφίνουν δ' ανεψιόν όντα αὐτῷ ή, ως τινες, Γλαυκίππου τοῦ υίοθε τον υίον δια Φιλοπείθους τινός ιατρού λαβόντα έξουσίαν τοῦ σώματος καῦσαι αὐτὸν καὶ τὰ όστα κομίσαι είς 'Αθήνας τοις προσήκουσι παρά τὰ 'Αθηναίων καὶ Μακεδόνων δόγματα· οὐ μόνον γὰρ κελεῦσαι αὐτοὺς φυγεῖν, ἀλλὰ μηδ' ἐν τῆ οἰκείᾳ ταφηναι. οι δ' εν Κλεωναις αποθανείν αὐτον λέγουσιν, ἀπαχθέντα μετά τῶν ἄλλων, ὅπου γλωττοτομηθήναι καὶ διαφθαρήναι ον προείρηται τρόπον. τους δ' οικείους τα όστα λαβόντας θάψαι τε άμα τοις γονεύσι πρό των Ίππάδων πυλών, ως φησιν D 'Ηλιόδωρος' ἐν τῶ τρίτω περὶ Μνημάτων, νυνὶ δὲ κατερήρειπται το μνήμα και έστιν άδηλον.

Πάντων δὲ κατὰ τὴν δημηγορίαν διενεγκείν λέγεται τέτακται δὲ ὑπ' ἐνίων πρὸ Δημοσθένους. φέρονται δ' αὐτοῦ λόγοι ἐβδομήκοντα ἐπτά, ὧν

1 700 added by Blass.

2 τοῦ νίοῦ Bernardakis: τινός or νίοῦ.

Blass, followed by Bernardakis, marks a gap here.

4 Ἡλιόδωρος] Διόδωρος Ruhnken, of. Müller, Frag. Hist. Graec. ii. p. 354.

### HYPEREIDES, 849

himself for his disagreement with him. After leaving \( \) \

went to Macedonia, where his tongue was cut out and he was thrown out unburied, and that Alphinous, who was his cousin (or, as some say, the son of his son Glaucippus), obtained possession of the body by the aid of a physician named Philopeithes, burned it and brought the bones to Athens to his relatives contrary to the decrees of the Athenians and the Macedonians; for they had ordered, not only that he be exiled, but that he be not even buried in his own country. And others say that he died at Cleonae after being brought there with the rest, where his tongue was cut out and he perished in the manner related above; and that his relatives obtained the bones and buried them with his ancestors before the gates of the Hippades, as Heliodorus savs in the third book of his work On Monuments. But now the monument has fallen in ruins and cannot be identified.

He is said to have excelled all in addressing the people; and by some critics he is ranked above Demosthenes. Seventy-seven speeches are current

<sup>See above, p. 427, note b.
At Hermione.
Miller, Frag. Hist. Grace. i. p. 50.
At Athens, probably south-east from the Acropolis.</sup> 

- (849) γνήσιοί είσι πεντήκοντα δύο. εγένετο δε καί πρός τὰ ἀφροδίσια καταφερής, ώς ἐκβαλεῖν μὲν τὸν υἰὸν εἰσαγαγεῖν δὲ Μυρρίνην τὴν πολυτελεστάτην ἐταίραν, ἐν Πειραιεῖ δ' ἔχειν 'Αρισταγόραν, ἐν Έλευσινι δ' εν τοις ίδίοις κτήμασι Φίλαν την1 Ε Θηβαίαν, εἴκοσι μνῶν λυτρωσάμενος.
  - τε τὸν περίπατον ἐν τῆ ἰχθυοπώλιδι ὁσημέραι. ώμιληκὼς δέ, ὡς εἰκός δή, καὶ Φρύνη τῆ ἐταίρα ασεβείν κρινομένη συνεστάθη<sup>8</sup> αὐτὸς γὰρ τοῦτο ἐν άρχη τοῦ λόγου δηλοί μελλούσης δ' αὐτης άλίσκεσθαι, παραγαγών είς μέσον καὶ περιρρήξας την έσθητα επέδειξε τὰ στέρνα της γυναικός καὶ τῶν δικαστών είς τὸ κάλλος ἀπιδόντων, ἀφείθη, συνετίθει δ' ήσυχη κατά τοῦ Δημοσθένους έγκλήματα, ώς καὶ φωραθήναι νοσούντος γάρ του Υπερείδου,

Τ ήκοντα είς την οικίαν τον Δημοσθένη ώς επισκεψόμενον καταλάβεῖν κατέχοντα τὸ καθ' αὐτοῦ βιβλίον. τούτου δ' άγανακτοῦντος, εἶπε " φίλον μεν ὅντα οὐδὲν λυπήσει, ἐγθρὸν δὲ νενόμενον κωλύσει τι κατ'

Φίλαν τὴν Keil, from Athenaeus, p. 590 d: φίλτην. 2 ώμιληκώς δὲ (Bücheler) ώς εἰκός δὴ, καὶ Capps; ώμιληκώς

δὲ καὶ Bücheler; ἐωθινός. καὶ δίκη Blass; ὡς εἰκὸς δὲ καὶ δίκη. For kal bing Bernardakis prefers kan blug.

<sup>3</sup> συνεστάθη conj. Capps; cf. van Herwerden, Lex. Suppl., s.v. συνίστασθαι (" de advocatis"): συνεξητάσθη.

4 οὐδέν Reiske: οὐδένα.

a Only small fragments of these were preserved until, at various times in the nineteenth century, six more or less complete orations were discovered in Egyptian papyrus manuscripts.

b Another comic gibe against a public man supposed to be a gourmand. Athenaeus viii. 341 ff. quotes from the Delos and Icarians of Timocles gossip of this kind against

Hypereides.

The traditional text is certainly corrupt; cf. critical

### HYPEREIDES, 849

under his name, fifty-two of which are genuine.a He was also very prone to sexual indulgence, so that he turned his son out of the house and brought in Myrrhina, the most expensive prostitute, kept Aristagora in Peiraeus, and at his own estate in Eleusis kept the Theban girl Phila, whom he had ransomed for twenty minas. He used to walk in the Fish-market every day.b And, as it is indeed reasonable to suppose, it was because he had been intimate also with Phryne the courtesan that when she was on trial for impiety he became her advocate; for he makes this plain himself at the beginning of his speech.d And when she was likely to be found guilty, he led the woman out into the middle of the court and, tearing off her clothes, displayed her breasts. When the judges saw her beauty, she was acquitted. He quietly compiled accusations against Demosthenes and the fact became known; for once, when he was ill. Demosthenes came to his house to visit him and found him with the document against himself in his hand; and when Demosthenes was angry, Hypereides said, "It will do you no harm while you are my friend, but if you become my enemy, it will prevent your doing anything against

notes. The inference seems to have been drawn from the orator's amatory record that his advocacy of Phryne at her famous trial was due to an intimacy with her. An advocate was nover "examined with" the defendant.

Explained by Athenaeus xiii, 590 d ἐν τῷ ὑπὲρ Φρύνης λόγῳ Ὑπερείδης ὁμολογῶν ἐρᾶν τῆς γυναικός. Hypereides' speech was translated into Latin by Messala Corvinus

(Quintilian x. 5. 2).

This version is found also in Athenaeus xiii. 590 e, but the comic poet Poseidippus in his Ephesian Lady (litid. 591 c; Kock, Com. Att. Frag. iii. p. 339) attributes Phrynê's acquittal to her own arts.

ἐμοῦ πράξαι." ἐψηφίσατο δὲ καὶ τιμὰς Ἰόλα τῶ δοκοῦντι<sup>1</sup> 'Αλεξάνδρω τὸ φάρμακον δοῦναι. ἐκοι-νώνησε δὲ καὶ Λεωσθένει<sup>2</sup> τοῦ Λαμιακοῦ πολέμου, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς πεσοῦσιν είπε τὸν ἐπιτάφιον θαυμασίως. Φιλίππου δε πλείν επ' Ευβοίας παρεσκευασμένου καὶ τῶν 'Αθηναίων εὐλαβῶς ἐχόντων, τεσαράκουτα τριήρεις ἤθροισεν ἐξ ἐπιδόσεως καὶ πρῶτος ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς ἐπέδωκε δύο τριήρεις.

850 συστάντος δε πρός Δηλίους αμφισβητήματος, ποτέρους δεί προΐστασθαι τοῦ ἱεροῦ, αἰρεθέντος Αἰσχίνου συνειπείν, ή έξ 'Αρείου πάγου βουλή Υπερείδην έχειροτόνησεν· καὶ ἔστιν δ λόγος Δηλιακός ἐπι-γεγραμμένος. ἐπρέσβευσε δὲ καὶ πρὸς 'Ροδίους. ήκόντων δε και παρ' Αντιπάτρου πρέσβεων. έπαινούντων τον 'Αντίπατρον ώς χρηστόν, απαντήσας αὐτοῖς εἶπεν, " οἴδαμεν" ὅτι χρηστὸς ὑπάρχει, άλλ' ήμεις γ' οὐ δεόμεθα χρηστοῦ δεσπότου.'' λέγεται δ' ἄνευ ὑποκρίσεως δημηγορήσαι και μόνον

Β διηγείσθαι τὰ πραχθέντα καὶ τούτοις οὐκ ἐνοχλείν τους δικαστάς. ἐπέμφθη δὲ καὶ πρὸς Ἡλείους ἀπολογησόμενος ὑπὲρ Καλλίππου τοῦ ἀθλητοῦ, έχουτος αἰτίαν φθείραι τὸν ἀγῶνα, καὶ ἐνίκησε. γραψάμενος δε και την Φωκίωνος δωρεάν, ην είπε Μειδίας Μειδίου 'Αναγυράσιος ἐπὶ Ξενίου ἄρχοντος, Γαμηλιώνος έβδόμη φθίνοντος, ήττήθη.

¹ δοκοῦντι Reiske: δόντι.

Photius: olda µèv; cf. Stobaeus, Ecl.

a The belief that Alexander died of poison was apparently unfounded.

b In 323-322 B.c. after Alexander's death, when the Greeks under Leosthenes besieged the Macedonian Antipater in

### HYPEREIDES, 849-850

me." He also proposed a decree conferring honours upon Iolas, who was supposed to have given Alexander the poison.a He took part with Leosthenes in the Lamian War b and delivered the funeral oration for the fallen in marvellous fashion. When Philip was preparing to sail against Euboea, and the Athenians were afraid, he assembled forty triremes by private contributions, and in his own name and his son's he gave two triremes, the first contribution made. when a dispute arose with the Delians as to which people should have control of the sanctuary, although Aeschines was chosen Athenian advocate, the senate of the Arcopagus elected Hypereides; and his speech is the one civil bei The Delien. He was also an envoy to the Rhodians. And when envoys came from Antipater and praised their sender as a good man, in replying to them he said, "We know that he is good, but we do not want a good master." It is said that in addressing the public he did not employ the actor's art, that he merely related the facts of the case and did not bore the jurors even with these. He was sent also to the Eleans to defend the athlete Callippus against the charge of having used corruption in the contest, and he won his case; but when he brought a suit against the grant of a gift for Phocion, which Meidias, son of Meidias, of the deme Anagyros, proposed in the archonship of Xenias, on the twentyfourth day of Gamelion, he was defeated.

Lamia near Thermopylae. A large part of Hypereides'

funeral oration is preserved.

445

(850)

### Ι'. ΔΕΙΝΑΡΧΟΣ

Δείναονος Σωκράτους η Σωστράτου, ώς μέν τινες έγχώριος, ώς δέ τισι δοκεί Κορίνθιος, άφικό-C μενος είς 'Αθήνας έτι νέος, καθ' ον χρόνον 'Αλέξανδρος ἐπήει τὴν 'Ασίαν, κατοικήσας αὐτόθι ἀκροατὴς μέν ενένετο Θεοφράστου τοῦ διαδεξαμένου την Αριστοτέλους διατριβήν, ωμίλησε δὲ καὶ Δημητρίω τῷ Φαληρεί μάλιστα δὲ προσήει τῷ πολιτεύεσθαι μετά την 'Αντιπάτρου τελευτήν, των μεν άνηρημένων βητόρων των δὲ πεφευγότων. φίλος δὲ Κασάνδρω γενόμενος, ὡς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον προέκοψε γρήματα τών λόγων είσπραττόμενος, οθς τοις δεομένοις συνέγραφεν άντετάξατο δε πρός τους επιφανεστάτους των δητόρων, ουκ είς δημον παριών οὐ γὰρ οδός τ' ἦν ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἐναντιουμένοις λόγους συγγράφων καὶ ἐπεὶ "Αρπαλος διέδρα, πλείους D λόγους συνέγραψε<sup>3</sup> κατά τῶν αἰτίαν λαβόντων δωροδοκήσαι, καὶ τούτους τοῖς κατηγόροις έξέδωκε. χρόνω δ' υστερον αιτιαθείς είς λόγους παραγίνεσθαι 'Αντιπάτρω καὶ Κασάνδρω περί την κατάληψιν της Μουνυχίας, ήνίκα ὑπ' Αντιγόνου καὶ Δημητρίου ἐφρουρήθη ἐπ' 'Αναξικράτους ἄρχοντος, έξαργυρισάμενος τὰ πλεῖστα τῆς οὐσίας ἔφυγεν εἰς Χαλκίδα. διατρίψας δ' ἐπὶ τῆς φυγῆς ὡς πεντεκαίδεκα ἔτη, καὶ πολλὴν οὐσίαν κτησάμενος κατήλθε, πραξάντων αὐτῷ τὴν κάθοδον τῶν

<sup>1</sup> ἐπήει Xylander: ἐπὶ.
 <sup>2</sup> δὲ προσήει τῷ Wyttenbach: δὲ τῷ.
 <sup>3</sup> συνέγραψε Blass: συνέγραφε.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> 334-323 B.C. <sup>b</sup> The Lyceum, *i.e.* the Peripatetic School.

### DEINARCHUS, 850

### X. DEINARCHUS

Deinarchus, son of Socrates or Sostratus, an Athenian according to some, but, as others think, a Corinthian, came to Athens while still young at the time when Alexander was invading Asia, a settled there, and became a pupil of Theophrastus, who had succeeded Aristotle as head of his School b: but he also attended the lectures of Demetrius of Phalerum. He took part most actively in public affairs after the death of Antipater, since some of the public men had been put to death and the rest were in exile. Since he became a friend of Cassander he prospered exceedingly through the fees he charged for the speeches which he wrote for those who requested his services; and he had as his opponents the most distinguished public men, although he did not speak before the popular assembly (for he was unable to do so d); but he merely wrote speeches for their opponents. And when Harpalus absconded he composed man. those who were accused of having rom him, and these he furnished to men accusers. But at a later time he was accused of having dealings with Antipater and Cassander in connexion with their occupation of Munichia when it was garrisoned by Antigonus and Demetrius in the archonship of Anaxicrates, whereupon he turned most of his property into cash and went into exile at Chalcis. And after living in exile about fifteen years and amassing considerable wealth, he returned, his restoration, and at the same time

<sup>¢ 318</sup> в.с.

If he was a Corinthian by birth, he would be debarred from such speaking.
\* 307-306 B.c.

περί Θεόφραστον ἄμα τοῖς ἄλλοις φυγάσι. καταλύσας δὲ παρὰ Προξένω ἐταίρω αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ Ε χρυσίον ἀπολέσας, ἢδη γηραιὸς ἄν καὶ τὰς δράσεις ἀσθενής, οὐ βουλομένου τοῦ Προξένου ἀναζητεῖν, λαγχάνει αὐτῷ δίκην καὶ τότε πρῶτον εἶπεν ἐν δικαστηρίω. σύζεται δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ λόγος. φέρονται δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ λόγοι γνήσιοι ἐξήκοντα τέσσαρες· τούτων ἔνιοι παραλαμβάννοτται ὡς ᾿Αριστογείτονος. ζηλωτὴς δ' ἐγένετο 'Υπερείδου ἢ ὡς τινες διὰ τὸ παθητικὸν Δημοσθένους καὶ τὸ σφοδρόν· τῶν σχημάτων δ' αὐτοῦ μιμητὴς ὑπάρχει.

# ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ

# A'

Τ Δημοχάρης\* Λάχητος Λευκονοεύς\* αἰτεῖ Δημοσθένει τῷ Δημοσθένους Παιανείε δωρεὰν εἰκόνα χαλκην ἐν ἀγορῷ καὶ σίτησιν ἐν πρυτανείψ καὶ προεδρίαν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐκγόνων\* ἀεὶ τῷ πρεσβυτάτφ, εὐεργέτη καὶ συμβούλω γεγονότι πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν τῷ δήμω των 'Αθηναίων καὶ τήν τε οὐσίαν εἰς τὸ κοινὸν καθεικότ τὴν ἐκντοῦ καὶ ἐπιδόντι τάλαυτα ὀκτὰ καὶ τριήρη, ὅτε ὁ δῆμος ἡλευθέρωσεν Εὐβοιαν, καὶ ἐτέραν, ὅτε εἰς 851 Ἑλλήστοντον Κηψισόδωρος ἐξέπλευσε καὶ ἐτέραν, ὅτε κλάρης καὶ Φωκίων στρατηγοὶ ἐξεπέμψθησαν εἰς Βυζάντιον ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου καὶ λυτρωσαμένψ πολλοὺς τῶν

<sup>1</sup> of added by Xylander.

Δημοχάρης Basle Ms.: Τιμοχάρης.
 Λευκονοεύς Westermann: λευκονθεύς.

έκγόνων Emperius: ἐγγόνων.

δήμω τῷ Ladeke: δήμω τῶν.

Evidently Deinarchus suspected theft or fraud.

# DEINARCHUS-DECREES, I. 850-851

that of the other exiles, having been effected by Theophrastus and his friends. He lodged at the house of a friend of his named Proxenus and lost his money, when he was already an old man and his eyes were weak, and when Proxenus refused to investigate the matter a he brought and then for the first time he spok and then for the speeches of his extant which are regarded as genuine; of these some are handed down as by Aristogeiton. He was a zealous follower of Hypereides or, as some say on account of his emotional and vehement qualities, of Demosthenes. He certainly is an imitator of the latter's figures of speech.

### DECREES 6

#### 1

Demochares a of Leuconoë, son of Laches, asks for Demosthenes of Pacania, son of Demosthenes, the grant of a bronze statue in the Market-place and maintenance in the Prytaneum and the privilege of front seats at the public spectacles for him and for the eldest of his descendants in perpetuity, because he has shown himself as a public beneator and counsellor, and has brought about many benefits the state of the state o

Only quoted fragments of his writings are extant.

On the following documents, called in the manuscripts "Decrees," see the Introduction to these Lives, p. 342 above.

Apparently the son of the Laches, son of Demochares, mentioned above, 847 p. that is, the orator's newhew.

(851) άλόντων έν Πύδνη καὶ Μεθώνη καὶ 'Ολύνθω ὑπὸ Φιλίππου καὶ χορηγίαν ἀνδράσιν ἐπιδόντι, ὅτι ἐκλιπόντων των Πανδιονιδών του χορηγείν επέδωκε, καὶ καθώπλισε τους πολίτας των έλλειπόντων και είς την τειχοποιίαν ανάλωσε χειροτονηθείς ύπὸ τοῦ δήμου, έπιδόντος αὐτοῦ τρία τάλαντα καὶ ας ἐπέδωκε δύο τάφρους περί τον Πειραιά ταφρεύσας και μετά την έν Β Χαιρωνεία μάχην ἐπέδωκε τάλαντον, καὶ είς τὴν σιτωνίαν ἐπέδωκεν ἐν τῆ σιτοδεία τάλαντον καὶ ὅτι² εἰς συμμαχίαν τῷ δήμῳ προσηγάγετο πείσας καὶ εὐεργέτης γενόμενος καὶ σύμβουλος, δί ων έπεισε Θηβαίους Εύβοεις Κορινθίους Μεγαρεις 'Αχαιούς Λοκρούς Βυζαντίους Μεσσηνίους, και δυνάμεις ας συνεστήσατο τώ δήμφ καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις, πεζούς μὲν μυρίους ἱππέας δὲ χιλίους, καὶ σύνταξιν χρημάτων ην έπεισε πρεσβεύσας διδόναι τους μέν συμμάχους είς τον πόλεμον πλείω πεντακοσίων ταλάντων καὶ ὅτί² ἐκώλυσε Πελοποννησίους έπὶ Θήβας "Αλεξάνδρφ βοηθήσαι, χρήματα δούς καὶ C αύτδς πρεσβεύσας· και άλλων πολλών και καλών τώ δήμφ συμβούλφ γεγονότι καὶ πεπολιτευμένφ τῶν καθ έμυτον προς έλευθερίαν και δημοκρατίαν άριστα φυγόντι δὲ δι' όλιγαρχίαν, καταλυθέντος τοῦ δήμου, καὶ τελευτήσαντος αὐτοῦ ἐν Καλαυρία διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν δῆμον εύνοιαν, πεμφθέντων στρατιωτών έπ' αὐτὸν ὑπὸ 'Αντιπάτρου, διαμείναντι έν τη πρός το πλήθος εὐνοία καὶ οίκειότητι, καὶ ούτε ὑποχειρίφ γενομένφ τοις έχθροις ούτε τι άνάξιον έν τώ κινδύνω πράξαντι του δήμου.

# Β'

D "Αρχων Πυθάρατος' Λάχης Δημοχάρους Λευκονοεύς αἰτεῖ δωρεὰν τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν

<sup>1</sup> on Westermann and Ladeke: ore.

### DECREES, I.-II. 851

by Philip at Pydna, Methone, and Olynthus, and having contributed the expense of a chorus of men because when the members of the tribe of Pandionis failed to furnish this chorus, he contributed the money and, besides, furnished arms to the citizens who lacked them; and when elected Commissioner of the Fortifications by the popular assembly he supplied the money for the work, himself contributing three talents in addition to the cost of two trenches about the Peiracus, which he dug as his contribution. And after the battle of Chaeroneia he contributed a talent, and in the scarcity of food he contributed a talent for the food-supply. And because, through persuasion, benefactions, and the advice by which he moved them, he brought into alliance with the people the Thebans, Eubocans, Caristian Manadam.

troops for the people and its allies.

a contribution of money which

llies to give for the war—more and because he prevented the

Peloponnesians from going to the aid of the Bocotians, giving money and going in person as envoy. And he advised the people to adopt many other excellent measures, and of all his contemporaries he performed the best public actions in the cause of liberty and democracy. And having been exiled by the oligarchy when the democracy had been destroyed, and having died at Calauria on account of his devotion to the democracy,

unworthy of the democracy.

# II

Archon Pytharatus.<sup>b</sup> Laches, son of Demochares, of Leuconoë, asks from the senate and people of the Athenians

4 356, 353, and 348 B.C.

b 271-270 B.C. See above, pp. 431 f., where the same facts are given.

<sup>2</sup> ὅτι Westermann: ώς.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> οὕτε τι Meziriacus: οὕτε. <sup>4</sup> τὸν Ladeke; τῶν. `

(851) 'Αθηναίων Δημοχάρει Λάχητος Λευκονοεῖ εἰκόνα χαλκῆν ἐν ἀγορᾶ καὶ σίτησιν ἐν πρυτανείω αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν ἐκ γόνων³ ἀεὶ τῷ πρεσβυτάτῳ καὶ προεδρίαν ἐν πῶσι τοῦς ἀγώσιν, εὐεργέτη καὶ συμβούλω γεγονότι ἀγαθῷ τῷ δήμω τῷ³ 'Αθηναίων καὶ εὐεργετηκότι τὸν δῆμον τάδε· πρεσβεύοντι καὶ γράφοντι καὶ πολιτευριένω . . . . οἰκοδομὴν τειχῶν, καὶ παρασκευὴν ὅπλων καὶ βελῶν καὶ μηχανημάτων, καὶ ἄχυρωσαμένω τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ τοῦ τετραε-

Ε τους πολέμου, και είρηνην και άνοχας και συμμαχίαν ποιησαμένω προς Βοιωτούς άνθ' ων εξέπεσεν ύπος των καταλυσάντων τον δήμον και ως κατηλθεν επί Διοκλέους τείλαντι την διοίκησιν πρώτω

ντων καὶ προσβεύσαντιο προς Λυσίμαχον καὶ λαβόντι τῷ δήμιο τριάκοντα τάλαντα άργυρίου καὶ πάλκιν ἔτερα ἐκατὸν· καὶ γράψαντι προσβείον προς Πτολεμαῖον εἰς Αίγυπτον, καθ' ἢν ἐκπλεύσαντες πεντήκοντα ἐκόμισαν τάλαντα ἀργυρίου τῷ δήμιο καὶ πρὸς ᾿Αντίπατρον πρεσβεύσαντι καὶ λαβόντι εἴκοσι τάλαντα

- Η ἀργυρίου καὶ 'Ελευσίνα' κομισαμένω τῷ δήμω καὶ ταῦτα πείσαντι ἐλέσθαι τὸν δήμων καὶ πράξαντι, καὶ φυγόντι μὲν ὑπὲρ³ δημοκρατίας, μετεσχηκότι δὲ οὐδεμιῶς ολυγαρχίως οὐδὸ ἀρχὴν οὐδεμίῶν ήρχότι καταλελυκότος τοῦ δήμου καὶ μόνω 'Αθηναίων τῶν κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡλικίων πολιτευσαμένων μὴ μεμελετηκότι τὴν πατρίδω κιμεῖν ἐτρω πολιτεύματι ἢ δημοκρατία καὶ τὰς κρίσεις καὶ τὸς κρίσεις καὶ τὸς νόμους καὶ τὰ δικαστήρια καὶ τὸς οὐσίως πῶσιν 'Αθηναίοις ἐν ἀσφαλεῦ ποιήσαντι διὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ πολιτείας καὶ μηδὲν ὑπεναντίον τῆ δημοκρατία πεπραχότι μήτε λόγω μήτε ἔργω.
  - 1 αὐτῷ added by Westermann.
  - <sup>2</sup> ἐκγόνιον Emperius: ἐγγόνων. <sup>8</sup> τῷ Ladeke: τῶν. <sup>4</sup> Westermann indicates a gap here to be filled with such words as ἀεἰ καλῶς καὶ καθαρῶς, καὶ κατεργασαμένω.

## DECREES, II. 851

for Demochares, son of Laches, of Leuconoë, a grant of a bronze statue in the Market-place, and maintenance in the Prvianeum for him and the eldest of his descendants in perpetuity, and the privilege of a front seat at all public

proved himself a benefactor and a good ple of the Athenians and benefited the

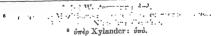
neonle as follows: rle was a good ambassador, proposer of legislation, and statesman [ . . . , and he superintended] the building of the walls and the preparation of armour, missiles, and engines of war, he fortified the city at the time of the four years' war and made peace, truce, and alliance with the Bocotians, in return for which he was banished by those who overthrew the democracy. When he was recalled by the people in the archonship of Diocles, be first reduced the expenses of the administration and was sparing of the public resources; he went as envoy to Lysimachus and secured for the people thirty talents of silver and again one hundred more; he proposed the sending of an embassy to Ptolemy in Egypt, and those who took part in it brought back for the people fifty talents of silver; he was envoy to Antipater and secured twenty talents of silver which he brought to Eleusis for the people. He won the assent of the people to all these measures and accomplished them; he was exiled for the sake of the democracy, he took no part in any oligarchy, he held no office after the democracy had been as the only Athenian of those who were

in his time who never plotted to alter

the government of the country by changing it to a form other than democracy; he made the decisions of the courts, the laws, the courts, and property, safe for all Athenians by the policy he pursued, and he never did anything adverse to the democracy by word or deed.

The war ended with the surrender of а 294-290 в.с. Athens to Demetrius Poliorcetes.

b 288-287 B.C.



### ۲

Αυκόφρων Αυκούργου Βουτάδης άπεγράψατο αύτώ είναι σίτησιν εν πρυτανείω κατά την δοθείσαν δωρεάν ύπο του δήμου Λυκούργω Βουτάδη. ἐπὶ ἀναξικράτους 852 άρχοντος, έπὶ της 'Αντιοχίδος έκτης πρυτανείας, Στρατοκλής Ευθυδήμου Διομειεύς είπεν. έπειδη Λυκούργος Αυκόφρονος Βουτάδης παραλαβών παρά των ξαυτού προγόνων οίκείαν έκ παλαιού την πρός τον δήμον εθνοίαν, καὶ οἱ πρόγονοι οἱ Δυκούργου, Δυκομήδης τε καὶ Λυκούργος, καὶ ζωντες έτιμωντο ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου καὶ τελευτήσασιν αὐτοῖς δι ἀνδραγαθίαν ἔδωκεν ὁ δήμος δημοσίας ταφάς έν Κεραμεικώ και Λυκούργος αυτός Β πολιτευόμενος νόμους τε πολλούς και καλούς έθηκε τη πατρίδι, και γενόμενος της κοινής προσόδου ταμίας τη πόλει έπὶ τρείς πενταετηρίδας καὶ διανείμας έκ τῆς κοινής προσόδου μύρια καὶ ὀκτακισχίλια καὶ ἐνακόσια τάλαντα πολλά δὲ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν διὰ πίστεως λαβών καὶ προδανείσας και είς τους της πόλεως καιρούς και του δήμου τὰ πάντα έξακόσια καὶ πεντήκοντα τάλαντα. δόξας δὲ ἄπαντα ταῦτα δικαίως διφκηκέναι πολλάκις έστεφανώθη ύπο της πόλεως έτι δε αίρεθεις ύπο του δήμου χρήματα πολλά συνήγαγεν είς την ακρόπολιν, καὶ παρασκευάσας τη θεφ κόσμον, νίκας τε όλοχρύσους πομπεΐά τε χρυσα καὶ άργυρα καὶ κόσμον χρυσοθν είς C έκατον κανηφόρους χειροτονηθείς δε έπι της τοῦ πολέμου παρασκευής όπλα μέν πολλά και βελών μυριάδας πέντε ανήνεγκεν είς την ακρόπολιν, τετρακοσίας δέ? τριήρεις πλωίμους κατεσκεύασε, τὰς μὲν ἐπισκευάσας τὰς δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς

έκτης πρυτανείας Schömann: εν τῆ πρυτανεία.

<sup>\*</sup> Λυκομήδης . 3: διομήδης.

δ έξακόσια] διακόσια Sauppe from Moralia, 841 p.

### DECREES, III, 851-852

#### TIT

Lycophron, son of Lycurgus, of the deme Butadae, presented in writing a claim for maintenance in the Prytaneum for himself in accordance with the gift presented by the people to Lycurgus of the deme Butadae. In the archopship of Anaxierates, in the sixth prytany, that of the tribe Antiochis. Stratocles, son of Euthydemus, of the denie Diomeia, made the following motion: Whereas Lycurgus, son of Lycophron, of the deme Butadae, having inherited from early times from his ancestors that loyalty to the democracy which has been peculiar to his family, and the propenitors of Lycurgus, Lycomedes and Lycurgus, were not only honoured by the people during their lives, but also after their death the people granted them for their courage and virtue public burials in the Cerameicus; and whereas Lycurgus himself during his public career made many excellent laws for his country, and when he was treasurer of the public revenues of the city for three periods of four years distributed from the public revenue eighteen thousand nine hundred talents: and having received in trust large funds from private citizens, from which he made loans previously agreed upon in order to meet the exigencies of the city and the people, in all six hundred and fifty talents; and, because he was believed to have administered all these funds justly, was often crowned by the State; and whereas when chosen by the people he brought together large sums of money upon Goddess, solid

processions, a carriers, and the war he br and fifty tho triremes ready to set sail, providing the of them and causing some to be built

a 307-306 s.c. Much of the substance of this document is contained in the Life of Lycurgus, see pp. 395 ff. above.

<sup>b</sup> Maidens of good birth who carried baskets of offerings in the processions.

δ άργυρᾶ Coraes: ἀργύρεα.

<sup>7</sup> δè added by Coraes.

#### PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

(852) ναυπηγησάμενος πρός τε τούτοις ημίεργα παραλαβών τούς τε νεωσοίκους καὶ τὴν σκευοθήκην καὶ τὸ θέατρον τὸ Διονυσιακόν έξειργάσατο, καὶ ἐπετέλεσε τό τε στάδιον τὸ Παναθηναϊκόν και το γυμνάσιον το κατά τοι Λύκειον κατεσκεύασε, καὶ ἄλλαις πολλαῖς κατασκευαῖς ἐκύσμησε τὴν πόλιν <sup>\*</sup>Αλεξάνδρου τε τοῦ βασιλέως ἄπασαν μὲν D τὴν 'Ασίαν κατεστραμμένου, κοινῆ δὲ πᾶσι τοῦς "Ελλησιν έπιτάττειν άξιούντος, έξαιτήσαντος<sup>2</sup> Αυκούργον ώς έναντία πράττοντα<sup>8</sup> αὐτῷ, <sup>4</sup> οὖκ ἐξέδωκεν ὁ δῆμος παρ 'Αλεξάνδρου φόβον καὶ διδοὺς εὐθύνας πολλάκις τών πεπολιτευμένων έν έλευθέρα και δημοκρατουμένη τή πόλει διετέλεσεν άνεξέλεγκτος καὶ άδωροδόκητος τὸν άπαντα γρόνον όπως άν είδωσι πάντες, διότι τοὺς προαιρουμένους ύπερ της δημοκρατίας και της έλευθερίας δικαίως πολιτεύεσθαι καὶ ζώντας μέν περὶ πλείστου ποιείται καὶ τελευτήσασι δὲ ἀποδίδωσι χάριτας ἀειμνή-Ε στους άγαθη τύχη δεδάχθαι τῷ δήμφ ἐπαινέσαι μέν Λυκοθργον Λυκόφρονος Βουτάδην άρετης ένεκα καλ δικαιοσύνης και στήσαι αύτου τὸν δημον χαλκην εἰκόνα έν άγορα, πλην εί που ὁ νόμος ἀπαγορεύει μη ἱστάναι, δοῦναι δὲ σίτησιν ἐν πρυτανείω τῶν ἐκγύνων ἀεὶ τῶν Αυκούργου τῷ πρεσβυτάτφ εἰς ἄπαντα τὸν χρόνον καὶ είναι κύρια πάντα τὰ ψηφίσματα αὐτοῦ, ἀναθείναι δὲ τὸν γραμματέα του δήμου έν στήλαις λιθίναις και στήσαι εν άκροπόλει πλησίον των άναθημάτων είς δε την άναγραφήν των στηλών δούναι τον ταμίαν του δήμου πεντήκοντα δραγμώς έκ τών είς τὰ ψηφίσματα άναλισκομένων τω δήμω.

 $^1$  τὸ κατὰ τὸ a sure reading in the inscription; τὸ κατὰ Schömann: καὶ τὸ.

#### DECREES, III, 852

and besides all this he finished the ship-sheds and the arsenal, which were half done when they came into his hands, and completed the Panathenaic stadium and crected the gymnasium at the Lyceum, and adorned the city with many other edifices. And when King Alexander, after overthrowing all Asia, assumed to give orders to all the Greeks in

and had a democratic form of government, he never was

death enduring gratitude:

by the people to commend the deme Butadae, for his virtue and justice, and to set up a bronze statue of him in the Market-place, only not in any place where the law forbids its erection, and to grant maintenance in the Prytaneum to the cldest descendant of Lycurgus for all time, and that all his decrees be valid, and that the secretary of the people inscribe them on stone tablets and place them on the Acropolis near the dedicatory offerings; and that the treasurer of the people give for inscribing the tablets fifty drachmas from the funds expended by the people for decrees.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> ἐξαιτήσαντος Meziriacus, confirmed hy the inscription: ἐξαιτήσας.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> πράττοντα Meziriacus: πράττοντος.

<sup>4</sup> αὐτῶ Blum : αὐτοῦ.

<sup>\*</sup> πλείστου Meziriacus: πλείστου.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> ἐκγόνων Turin editors: ἐγγόνων.
<sup>7</sup> καὶ είναι κόρια... γραμματέα] the words are in the order proposed by Dibhner: ἀναθεῦναι δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ είναι κόρια πάντα τὰ ὑποίσιαστα τὸν γραμματέα.



## SUMMARY OF A COMPARISON BETWEEN ARISTOPHANES

(COMPARATIONIS ARISTOPHANIS ET MENANDRI COMPENDIUM)

AND MENANDER



#### INTRODUCTION

This is at best a summary of one of Plutarch's lost essays, and it may well be that we have only part of the summary. Bernardakis believes that the beginning is wanting, and even for a summary the end, as

we have it, appears somewhat abrupt.

The Old Comedy of the fifth century B.C., whose chief representative is, and always was, Aristophanes, with its brilliant wit, occasionally beautiful poetry, biting invective, unrestrained ribaldry, and unashamed indecency, was followed in the fourth century, after the brief vogue of the Middle Comedy, by the New Comedy, whose chief representative is Menander. The New Comedy abstained from politics, indulged in no personal invective, was indecent only by innuendo, and produced dramas in which the life of the times was reflected somewhat after the manner of modern "society plays." Plutarch not unnaturally preferred Menander's polished comedies of character to the boisterous wit and humour of Aristophanes, and he seems to have had no appreciation of the earlier dramatist's vigour or of his poetic imagination.

## ΣΥΓΚΡΙΣΕΩΣ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΕΠΙΤΟΜΗ

1. \* \* \* 'Ως μὲν κοινῶς καὶ καθόλου εἰπεῖν πολλῷ προκρίνει τὸν Μένανδρον, ὡς δ' ἐπὶ μέρους καὶ

ταθτα προστίθησι

853

ταντα προστισίσι 

"Το φορτικόν," φησίν, " ἐν λόγοις καὶ θυμελικόν 
καὶ βάναυσον ὡς ἐστιν "Αριστοφάνει, Μενάνδρω δ' 
οὐδαμῶς. καὶ γὰρ ὁ μὲν ἀπαίδευτος καὶ ἰδιώτης, 
οῖς ἐκεῖνος λέγει, ἀλίσκεται ὁ δὲ πεπαιδευμένος 
δυσχερανεῖ λέγω δὲ τὰ ἀντίθετα καὶ ὁμοιόπτωτα 
καὶ παρωνυμίας. τούτοις γὰρ ὁ μὲν μετὰ τοῦ 
προσήκοντος λόγου καὶ ὀλιγάκις χρῆται ἐπιμελείας 
αὐτὰ ἀξιῶν, ὁ δὲ καὶ πολλάκις καὶ οὐκ εὐκαίρως 
καὶ ψυχρῶς ἐπαινεῖται γάρ," φησίν,

ότι τοὺς ταμίας ἐβάπτισεν, οὐχὶ ταμίας ἀλλὰ Λαμίας

ὄντας, καὶ

<sup>2</sup> ως έστιν] πρόσεστιν Bernardakis.

<sup>1</sup> θυμελικόν] Kronenberg suggests βωμολόχον; of Moralia 68 c το γέλοιον καί βωμολόχον.

<sup>&</sup>quot;He" seems to mean Plutarch; the compiler of this summary (or the editor who included it among Plutarch's works) regarding Plutarch as the author of the statements which are introduced in this first sentence.

## SUMMARY OF A COMPARISON BETWEEN ARISTOPHANES AND MENANDER

1. . . . In general he a much prefers Menander, and

in particular he adds what follows :

"Coarseness," he says, "in words, vulgarity and ribaldry are present in Aristophanes, but not at all in Menander; obviously, for the uneducated, ordinary person is captivated by what the former says, but the educated man will be displeased. I refor to antitheses and similar endings and plays on words. For of these Menander does make use with proper consideration and rarely, believing that they should be treated with care, but Aristophanes employs them frequently, inopportunely, and frigidly; for his punning is applauded," he says, "in

because he soused the bankers— Though they never were that but damn curs, b

#### and

b This quotation is not found in any collection of the fragments of Aristophanes (Bernardakis). The play on words in the Greek consists in the change of the initial letters of the words tamias ("treasurers") and Lamias, fabulous creatures such as the bugbears with which children are frightened by their nurses.

#### PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

(853) C οὖτος ή

οὖτος ἤτοι καικίας ἢ συκοφαντίας πνεῖ καὶ

γάστριζε καὶ τοῖς ἐντέροις καὶ τοῖς κόλοις¹ καὶ

ύπὸ τοῦ² γέλωτος εἰς Γέλαν² ἀφίζομαι καὶ

τί δῆτά δράσω σ', κακόδαιμον, ἀμφορεύς ἐξοστρακισθείς;

καί

ἄγρια γὰρ ἡμᾶς, ὧ γυναῖκες, δρῷ<sup>6</sup> κακά, ἄτ' ἐν ἀγρίοισι' τοῖς λαχάνοις αὐτὸς τραφείς καὶ

άλλ' ή τριχόβρωτες<sup>8</sup> του λόφου μου καπέφαγου καὶ

1 γάστριζε and κόλοις Wyttenbach from Aristophanes:

#### λᾶν.

<sup>4</sup> δητα Meineke: δέ.

5 δράσω σ' Meineke; σὲ δράσω Reiske; σοι δράσω.

δρά Wyttenbach and Reiske from Aristophanes: ἄρα.

7 dypiotot Bernardakis: dypiots.

8 άλλ' ή τριχόβρωτες Aristophanes: άλλ' αι τριχοβόστρυχες.

b Knights, 454. The play here consists in the use of gastrize, usually meaning "stuff the belly" with food, as 464.

<sup>•</sup> Knights, 437. In the Greek "north-east" and "calumny" both have the same endings in -tas, characteristic of the names of winds.

## ARISTOPHANES AND MENANDER, 853

This fellow blows an ill north-east or calumny,<sup>a</sup>
and

Give him a belly-punch in his bowels and guts,<sup>b</sup> and

By laughter driven I soon shall be in Laughter-town,<sup>6</sup> and

Whatever shall I do to you, you wretched pot, When gone the way of pots? a

and

Since, women, what he does to us are evils wild, For one who e'en himself in the wild-greens market grew," and

But look, the moths have caten up my plumes entire,

and

"punch in the belly." The language is intentionally coarse as being characteristic of the Sausage-dealer, Cleon's rival for political leadership.

o Kock, Com. Att. Frag. i. p. 546, no. 618. The play is on the word gelos "laughter" and the city of Gela in Sielly, d Kock, ibid. p. 548, no. 593. The speaker seems to be about to smash a pot in order to get some ostraka or potsherds on which to inscribe the name of the politician for whose "ostracism" he desires to vote.

Women Celebrating the Thesmophoria, 455. One of the assembled women

has done to the second line is to the earned her living

f Acharnians, 1110. The speaker is the general Lamachus, who comes on the scene in his full officer's regalia. The word for moth in Greek is trichobros "haireater."

#### PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

(853) φέρε δεθρο γοργόνωτον ἀσπίδος κύκλον. κάμοὶ πλακοθντος τυρόνωτον δός κύκλον

καὶ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα. ἔνεστι μὲν οῦν ἐν τῆ κατασκευῆ τῶν ὀνομάτων αὐτῷ τὸ τραγικὸν τὸ κωμικὸν τὸ σοβαρὸν τὸ πεζόν, ἀσάφεια, κοινότης, ὄγκος καὶ δίαρμα, σπερμολογία καὶ φλυαρία ναυτιώδης. καὶ D τοσαύτας διαφορὰς ἔχουσα καὶ ἀνομοιότητας ἡ λέξις οὐδὲ τὸ πρέπον ἐκάστη καὶ οἰκεῖον ἀποδίδωσιν οἰον λέγω βασιλεῖ τὸν ὅγκον ῥήτορι τὴν δεινότητα γυναικὶ τὸ ἀπλοῦν ἰδιώτη τὸ πεζὸν ἀγοραίῳ τὸ φορτικόν ἀλλὶ ἀσπερ ἀπὸ κλήρου ἀπονέμει τοῖς προσώποις τὰ προστυχόντα τῶν ὀνομάτων, καὶ οὐκ ἄν διαγνοίης εἴθ' υἰός ἐστιν εἴτε πατὴρ εἴτ' ἄγροικος εἴτε θεὸς εἴτε γραῦς εἴθ' ἤρως δ διαλεγόμενος.

2. " Ή δὲ Μενάνδρου φράσις οὕτω συνέξεσται καὶ συμπέπνευκε κεκραμένη πρὸς ἑαυτήν, ὤστε διὰ Ε πολλῶν ἀγομένη παθῶν καὶ ἢθῶν καὶ προσώποις ἐφαρμόττουσα παυτοδαποῖς μία τε φαίνεσθαι καὶ τὴν ὁμοιότητα τηρεῖν ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς καὶ συνήθεσι καὶ ὑπὸ τὴν χρείαν ὀνόμασιν ἐὰν δέ τινος ἄρα τερατείας εἰς τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ ψόφου δεήση, καθάπερ αὐλοῦ πάντρητον ἀνασπάσας ταχὸ πάλιν καὶ πιθανῶς ἐπέβαλε καὶ κατέστησε τὴν φωνὴν εἰς τὸ οἰκεῖον. πολλῶν δὲ γεγονότων εὐδοκίμων τεχνιτῶν, οὕθ' ὑπόδημα δημιουργὸς οὕτε προσωπεῖον

<sup>1</sup> τυρόνωτον Xylander from Aristophanes: γυρόνωτον.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> The first line is spoken by Lamachus, who has been 466

## ARISTOPHANES AND MENANDER, 853

Lam. I say, bring here my shield's round orb all Gorgonfaced.

Die. I say, hand me a flat-cake's orb all faced with cheese,

and many things of the same sort. Moreover, in his diction there are tragic, comic, pompous, and prosaic elements, obscurity, vagueness, dignity, and elevation, loquacity and sickening nonsense. And with all these differences and dissimilarities his use of words does not give to each kind its fitting and appropriate use; I mean, for example, to a king his dignity, to an orator his eloquence, to a woman her artlessness, to an ordinary man his prosaic speech, to a market-lounger his vulgarity; but he assigns to his characters as if by lot such words as happen to turn up, and you could not tell whether the speaker is son or father, a rustic or a god, or an old woman or a hero.

2. "But Menander's diction is so polished and its ingredients mingled into so consistent a whole that, although it is employed in connexion with many emotions and many types of character and adapts itself to persons of every kind, it nevertheless appears as one and preserves its uniformity in common and familiar words in general use; but if the action should anywhere call for strange and deceptive language and for bluster, he opens, as it were, all the stops of his flute, but then quickly and plausibly closes them and brings the sound back to its natural quality. And although there have been many noted artisans, no shoemaker ever made the same shoe, no

ordered to lead out his forces for the defence of the frontier in blustery wintry weather. Everything he says is parodied by the pacifist Dieseopolis, the charcoal-burner, who for his part is preparing for a grand banquet.

467

#### PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

σκευοποιός ούτε τις ιμάτιον αμα ταύτον ανδοί καί νηναικί και μειρακίω και νέροντι και οἰκότριβι Ε ποέπου ἐποίησεν άλλα Μένανδοος ούτως ἔμιξει την λέξιν, ώστε πάση καὶ φύσει καὶ διαθέσει καὶ ήλικία σύμμετρον εΐναι, καὶ τάθτα νέος μὲν ἔτι τοῦ πράγματος άψάμενος, ἐν ἀκμῆ δὲ τοῦ ποιεῖν καὶ διδάσκειν τελευτήσας, ότε μάλιστα καὶ πλείστην ἐπίδοσιν, ώς 'Αριστοτέλης φησί, λαμβάνει τὰ περί την λέξιν τοις γράφουσιν, εί ούν πρός τὰ πρώτα των Μενάνδρου δραμάτων τὰ μέσα καὶ τὰ τελευταία παραβάλοι τις, έξ αὐτῶν ἐπιγνώσεται. ὅσα έμελλεν. εἰ ἐπεβίω, καὶ τούτοις ἔτερα προσθήσειν. 3. " Ότι των διδασκόντων οι μέν προς τον όγλον και τον δημον γράφουσιν οι δέ τοις όλίνοις. το δ' ἐν ἀμφοῖν ἀρμόττον τοῖς γένεσιν οὐ ῥάδιον ὅτῳ των πάντων ὑπηρέεν εἰπεῖν. ᾿Αριστοφάνης μὲν οδν ούτε τοις πολλοις άρεστος ούτε τοις φρονίμοις άνεκτός, άλλ' ώσπερ έταίρας της ποιήσεως παρηκμακυίας, είτα μιμουμένης γαμετήν, ούθ' οί πολλοί την αὐθάδειαν ὑπομένουσινε οι τε σεμνοί βδελύττονται τὸ ἀκόλαστον καὶ κακόηθες. ὁ δὲ Μένανδρος μετὰ χαρίτων μάλιστα έαυτον αυτάρκη παρέσχηκεν, έν θεάτροις εν διατριβαις εν συμποσίοις, ανάγνωσμα Β καὶ μάθημα καὶ ἀγώνισμα κοινότατον ὧν ἡ Ἑλλὰς ένήνοχε καλών παρέχων την ποίησιν, δεικνύς ο τι δή και όποιον ήν άρα δεξιότης λόγου, επιών άπανταγόσε μετά πειθούς αφύκτου και νειρούμενος άπα-

> 1 ἔμιξε Herwerden : ἔδειξε. \* ὑποιιένουσιν Reiske: περιμένουσιν.

Menander was born in 342 s.c. and died in 292-291 s.c. at the age of fifty-two. His first play, probably the Heautontimoroumenos, was brought out when he was somewhat

## ARISTOPHANES AND MENANDER, 853-854

mask-maker the same mask, and no tailor the same cloak, that would be appropriate at the same time for man and woman and youth and old man and domestic slave; but Menander so blended his diction that it comports with every nature, disposition, and age, and he did this although he entered upon his career while still a young man and died at the height of his powers as playwright and poet," when, as Aristotle says, writers make the greatest progress in the matter of diction. If, therefore, we were to compare Menander's earliest dramas with those of his middle and final periods, we should perceive from them how many qualities he would, had he lived

longer, have added to these.

3. "Some dramatists write for the common people. and others for the few, but it is not easy to say which of them all is capable of adapting his work to both Now Aristophanes is neither pleasing to the many nor endurable to the thoughtful, but his poetry is like a harlot who has passed her prime and then takes up the rôle of a wife, whose presumption the many cannot endure and whose licentiousness and malice the dignified abominate. But Menander. along with his charm, shows himself above all satisfying. He has made his poetry, of all the beautiful works Greece has produced, the most generally accepted subject in theatres, in discussions, and at banquets, for readings, for instruction, and for dramatic competitions. For he shows, indeed, what the essence and nature of skill in the use of language really are, approaching all subjects with a persuasiveness from which there is no escape, and controlling under twenty years of age. See Clark, Class. Phil. i. (1906) pp. 313 ff.

469

## PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

(854) σαν ακοήν καὶ διάνοιαν Έλληνικής φωνής. τίνος ναρ αξιον άληθως είς θέατρον έλθειν άνδρα πεπαιδευμένον ἢ Μενάνδρου ἔνεκα; πότε δὲ θέατρα πίμπλαται ἀνδρῶν φιλολόγων, κωμικοῦ προσώπου δειχθέντος: εν δε συμποσίοις τίνι δικαιότερον ή τράπεζα παραχωρεί και τόπον ο Διόνυσος δίδωσι: φιλοσόφοις δέ και φιλολόγοις, ωσπερ σταν οί γραφείς έκπονηθωσι τὰς ὄψεις, ἐπὶ τὰ ἀνθηρὰ Ο καὶ ποώδη χρώματα τρέπουσιν, ἀνάπαυλα τῶν άκράτων καί συντόνων έκείνων Μένανδρός έστιν. οΐον εὐανθεῖ λειμῶνι καὶ σκιερῷ καὶ πνευμάτων μεστώ δεχόμενος την διάνοιαν.

4. <sup>1</sup> "Οτι κωμωδίας ύποκριτας" τοῦ χρόνου τούτου πολλούς καὶ ἀγαθούς τῆς πόλεως ἐνεγκούσης, \* \* \*\* αί Μενάνδρου κωμωδίαι άφθόνων άλων και ίλαρων μετέγουσιν, ώσπερ έξ εκείνης νενονότων της θαλάττης, έξ ής' Αφροδίτη γέγονεν. οί δ' Αριστοφάνους άλες πικροί και τραχείς όντες έλκωτικήν δριμύτητα καί δηκτικήν έχουσι καί ούκ οίδ' έν οίς έστιν ή θρυλουμένη δεξίστης ύπ' αὐτοῦ, ἐν λόνοις ἡ προσώποις αμέλει και τὰ μεμιμημένα πρός τὸ χείρον D μεμίμηται· τὸ γὰρ πανοῦργον οὐ πολιτικὸν ἀλλὰ κακόηθες, καὶ τὸ ἄγροικον οὐκ ἀφελὲς αλλ πλίθιον.

1 κωμικού Wyttenbach: η κωμικού. <sup>2</sup> φιλολόγοις Wyttenbach: φιλοπόνοις.

3 ἀκράτων Reiske: ἀκροατῶν.

ύποκριτάς] ποιητάς Haupt.

<sup>5</sup> A gap here was first suggested by Wyttenbach. Some-

καὶ το γελοῖον οὐ παιγνιώδες ἀλλά καταγέλαστον,

thing is certainly wanting.

6 καὶ ίλαρῶν Emperius; κἀπίκρων Bernardakis; καὶ πράων Kronenberg, who suggests rendering ἀφθόνων by "sine invidia," cf. Plato, Republic 500 A: καὶ ἱερῶν.

7 fs Haupt: ων. <sup>8</sup> ἀφελές Bryan : ἀσφαλές.

## ARISTOPHANES AND MENANDER, 854

every sound and meaning which the Greek language affords. For what reason, in fact, is it truly worth while for an educated man to go to the theatre, except to enjoy Menander? And when else are theatres for a comic character for whom is it more proper for the festive board to yield its place and for Dionysus to waive his rights for And just as painters, when their eyes are tired, turn to the colours of flowers and grass, so to philosophers and men of learning Menander is a rest from their concentrated and intense studies, inviting the mind, as it were, to a meadow flowery, shady, and full of breezes.

4. "Although the city has supplied at the present time many excellent actors of comedy... Menander's comedies contain an abundance of salty wit and merriment, which seem like the salte derived from that sea out of which Aphrodité was born. But the witticisms of Aristophanes are bitter and rough and possess a sharpness which wounds and bites. And I do not know wherein his vaunted eleverness resides, whether in his words or his characters. Certainly even whatever he imitates he makes worse; for with him roguishness is not urbane but malicious, rusticity not simple but silly, facetiousness not playful but ridiculous, and love

a i.e. when comedies are given only those of Menander draw the crowds of men of culture.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>b</sup> That scenes from Menander's plays may be recited or acted.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>e</sup> Cf. Cicero, De Officiis i. 37. 133 "sale vero et facetiis Caesar vicit omnes," where facetiis corresponds to Emperius's conjecture iλαρών.

#### PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

καὶ τὸ ἐρωτικὸν οὐχ ίλαρὸν ἀλλ' ἀκόλαστον. οὐδενὶ γὰρ ὁ ἀνθρωπος ἔοικε μετρίω τὴν ποίησιν γεγραφέναι, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν αἰσχρὰ καὶ ἀσελγῆ τοῖς ἀκολάστοις, τὰ βλάσφημα δὲ καὶ πικρὰ τοῖς βασκάνοις καὶ κακοήθεσιν."

## ARISTOPHANES AND MENANDER, 854

not joyous but licentious. For the fellow seems to have written his poetry, not for any decent person, but the indecent and wanton lines for the licentious, the slanderous and bitter passages for the envious and malicious."



ACHARANS, 118, 189, 189, 280, 481.	Agmin, 45, 19; one of the mines.
Acharnae, Attic deme, 407.	Agrigentines, 270,
Achilles, 275.	4
Acropolis, 273, 385, 387, 425, 455,	1.: "
457.	A 1.1
Actaeon, son of Melissus, 9, 11,	A secret of a section
Acacus, 427; son of Zeus and	* **
Aegina.	A fine transfer of the late of the late.
Andrews Attended	1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1
	and the second
: Helles-	British and the state of the state of
pont, ine Amenian ileet was	61 1,
defeated here in 405 B.c. by	2.336
Lysander.	cles.
Aemilius Paulus, L., 35: Roman	41 11 1 1 1 1 1
consul 168 s.c., father of Scipio	190.
Africanus the Younger. Plutarch	300.
wrote his life.	405, 419, 428, 426, 431, 437, 447,
	200, 410, 480, 420, 401, 401, 441,
Aeschines, Academic philosopher,	
119.	
Aeschines, Attic orator, 221, 389,	
891, 898, 805, 421, 428, 445; 890-	wrote als life.
after 390 B.C.	Alexandria, 241.
Aeschylus, 311, 401: great tragic	Alexis, 89: comic dramatist, circu
poet, 525-456 B.C.	376-270 в.с.
Acschylus quoted, 41, 811.	Alopece, Attic deme, 353.
Aesop, 115, 201; supposed inventor	At the last of the Miles
of beast-fables.	4 (17 4 4 4 4 1 4 1 4 4 4
V 4 12 4/22 1 1 1/22	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
and the second of the second o	
	the Unalcidians.
A Company of the Comp	Amphictyonic Council, Amphic-
	tyons, 89, 135, 391.
	twistian 47
king of Lacedsemon, circa 438-	
858. Plutarch wrote his life.	the second of the second of the second
Agesistratus, 427: friend of Demo-	
	445.
sthenes.	Anaxagoras, 33, 273, 337: Ionic
Agis, 149: king of Sparta, died	Allakagutas, ou, 210, 331. 10114
398 B.C. Plutarch wrote his life.	philosopher, 500-428 B.C.

475

Anaxarchus, 61: philosopher, 4th century R.O., was teacher of Pyrrho who founded the school of Pyrrho who founded the school of the Abasander; 427, oralor of the 4th century R.O. Ancients, 111. Andocides, 856, 857, 850: Attic orator, circa 445-after 801 n.O. Andocides, 856, 857, 850: Attic orator, circa 445-after 801 n.O. Andocides, grandfather of the orator, 355.  Antigonus, 121, 831, 447: general under Alexander; afterwards ruler of Asia and king, 882-801 g.O. Antiphone, 419: comic poet, 4th century R.O. Antiphone, 419: comic poet, 4th century R.O. Antiphone, 345, 847, 349, 851, 855, 855: Attic orator, circa 480-411 R.O.; others named Antiphon, etc. more 840.	Apollodorus, 45: tyrant of Casandrela. Applus Claudius, 187; Roman general, statesman, and writer, builder of a great, road and an aquedust; 4th century a.c., 219, Artans, 183, of Sievon: general of the Achaena Lesgue in 245 and 249 a.c. Plutarch wrote his life. Arcadias, 149. Arcadiass, 103, 395, 425.  11:  Hunter, 427, 441. Archidamus, king of Sparts, 179, 183: invaded Attica 431 and 430 a.c.; besigged Platese, 429 a.c. Archidamus, 183: Iambie poet, 1st half of 7th century a.c. Archidamus, 183: Iambie poet, 1st half of 7th century a.c. Archimetes, 98, of Syraouse; engineer and mathematician, 287–213 a.c.  200. Archimetes, 183: Lambie poet, 181 and 480 a.c.; besigged Platese, 429 a.c. Archimetes, 98, of Syraouse; engineer and mathematician, 287–213 a.c.  212 a.c.  224 a.c.  225 a.c.  226 a.c.  227 p. 228 a.c.  228 a.c.  229 a.c.  230 a.c.  240 a.c.  241 a.c.  242 a.c.  243 a.c.  244 a.c.  245 a.c.  246 a.c.  247 a.c.  248 a.c.  247 a.c.  248 a.c.  248 a.c.  249 a.c.  240 a.c.  240 a.c.  240 a.c.  240 a.c.  241 a.c.  242 a.c.  243 a.c.  244 a.c.  245 a.c.  247 a.c.  247 a.c.  248
Apharens, adopted by Isocrates,	Aridaeus, 121; son of Philip of
379, 381, 385,	Y
uJū.	Aristagora, a prostitute kept by
Aphobus, guardian of Demosthenes,	Hypereides, 448.
415.	Aristeides, 117, 141, 147, 197, 218,
Aphrodité, 37, 39, 93, 471. Apollo, 111, 319, 413.	287, 846; Athenian statesman, often called "the Just," fought
476	

ak 3844411444 qua Bijlani' ( 31.3 )	425, 427, 429, 481, 435, 487, 441,
	445, 447, 449, 451, 458.
tyrant of Athens, opposed Sulla, who had him killed, 86 B.C.	• •
Aristocleia, 5; maiden of Haliar-	•
tus.	***
Aristodemus, a Spartan, 15; of Argos, 68; an Athenian actor, 889; of Bate, banished, 897.	Atrometus, father of Aeschines, 889.
Aristogeiton, 849 (the tyrannicide):	1-188 B, U.)
411, 489, 449, Athenian accused ser of	•
Hy said a	Augustus, 247 (C. Julius Cansar
A. C. Stoic	us.
Aristonious, 428, 487; moved to	
crown Demosthenes.	· if
Aristonymus, son; of Symmachus, 407.	Antolyons 41 a president 400
Aristophanes, 371, 463, 469, 471:	Autolygus, 41; a wrestler; 409,
poet of the Old Comedy, circa	
Aristophanes quoted, 189, 208, 325,	
468, 465, 467. Aristophon, 177, 415: Athenian	were written.
politician of the 4th century	BACCHIADAE, a noble family of
B.O.	Corinth, 11.
Aristotle, 185, 447, 469: the philo-	** * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *
sopher, 884-822 B.C. Arrhephoroi, at Athens, 885.	
Artaphernes, 828: Persian general	Bate, Attic deme, 897, 407.
defeated, with his colleague	Bato, 85 : mentioned as a person in
Datis, at Marathon, 490 B.c.	30 A. S. Strang & Cating III.
Artemisia, widow of Maussolus,	
879.	1.25 to 6 to 1.11.
Asclepiades, 875; composed argu-	
ments of tragedies.	Total and a second
Asclepius, 419: god of medicine; mispronounced by Demosthenes.	N . N
Asia, 121, 125, 893, 428, 447, 457.	diam and the second
Ass, shadow of, 435.	1 B. M. S. Marker, S. Marie arm, 1
Ateas, 125: a Scythian.	Two are given on the dark are any
Athens, 185, 407; of the city, 179;	white a part are
Itonia, 19; of war, 177; before-	Boeotla, 5, 7, 15, 19, 265.
the - Temple, 295; Paconian,	Boeotian, 19, 21, 417, 451.
	Bosotian magistrate, 89.
Athenians, 85, 105, 128, 149, 165, 167, 171, 185, 189, 207, 228, 220, 237, 258, 283, 809, 321, 828, 888,	Boton, 371: name under which
237, 258, 283, 809, 821, 828, 888,	some teachings of Theramenes
858, 855, 857, 861, 868, 871, 875,	passed.
395, 899, 401, 408, 405, 417, 421,	Bouleuterion, 405.

Boulis, 249: a Spartan youth, who, with Sperchis, offered himself to be slain in expiation, but was	arius, 5, 7; freedman of Lucullus, 125.
sent home by Xerxes.  Brachyllus, brother of Lysias, 868.	Ca
367. Bucephalus, Alexander's horse,	407.
181.	Callistratus, 228, 418: Athenian
181. D. 455, 457.	1 1
from the state of the	rius
Cadmera, citadel of Thebes, 207. Cadmus, 877: mythical founder of Thebes and inventor of the alphabet. Caccillus, 347, 351, 367, 881, 391:	Carneades, 119: of Oyrene, founder of the New Academy, circa 215-129 B.C. Carthage, 198, 821. Carthaginians, 128, 165.
of Calacte, writer on rhetoric and	Carystus, 415; city on the island
literature; about 20 s.c. Caesar, Augustus (C. Julius Caesar	Cassander, 289, 447: son of Anti-
Octavianus), 85, 241; adopted son of Julius Caesar, became	
Roman Emperor, 68 B.CA.D. 14;	
See Augustus. Caesar, C. Julius, 219, 258 : famous	
Roman general, statesman, and	
writer. Plutarch wrote his life.	
Conservation and the conservation of the conse	
C	' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' '
marriage.	
Callias, 48, 287, 407; Athenians; archon, 411-410 B.C., 868; a	
Syracusan, 415. Callicles, 283: an Athenian money-	
lender, 4th century B.C.	arch wrote his life.
Callicratidas, 287: noted for too lofty speech.	Catulus (Q. Lutatius), 201, 211: consul with Aemilius Lepidus,
Callimachus, 421: Athenian archon	78 s.c.; opposed grants of power
849-348 s.c. Callimachus quoted, 205, 247: of	to Pompey. Centaurs, 333.
Cyrene, poet and scholar, suc- ceeded Zenodotus as librarian at	Ceos, 371: an island in the Aegean Sea.
Alexandria; circa 310–240 B.C. Calliope, 37, 177, 369; Muse of epic	77.
poetry. Callippus, an athlete accused of	i retracterant
using corruption, 415.	
Callirrhoë, daughter of Phocus,	
Callisthenes, young man of Hali-	quartor at Atnens.
1-0	

# INDEX Chabrias, 117, 197: Athenian | Cleocritus, 363; Athenian archon,

general, slain in a naval battle	412-411 B.C.
at Chios, 357 s.c.	Cleombrotus, married Callisto, 407.
Chaerephon, an Athenian, 411.	Cleon, 165, 195, 203, 281, 263, 807:
Chaerondas, Athenian archon, 888-	Athenian demagogue, slain at
337 B.C., 375.	Amphipolis, 422 s.c.
Chaeroneia, 187, 877, 379, 898, 423,	Cleophon, 105: Athenian dema-
435, 489, 451 : town in Bocotia	gogue in the later years of the
rulene Thillie (000 m a ) defeated	
where Philip (888 B.C.) defeated	5th century B.C.
	Olio, 87: Muse of history.
The first state of the	1 (1 1 1 2 C) 1 (1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1
and the second second	The state of the s
in the first of the second second	1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1
Amphitryon	Alexander, 387.
Charcs, 105, Athenian of physical	Collyte, Attic deme, 487.
thenian	Conon, father of Timotheus, 878,
A STATE OF THE STA	881 : Athenian general and naval
yn. 868-	commander in the last years of
302 B.C., 200, 421; of Carystus,	the 5th and early part of the 4th
415.	centuries B.C.
Charinus, 281: Athenian, aided	Corcyraean whip, 405,
Pericles.	Corcyraeans, 855, 417.
Charmides, son of Aristonymus,	Corinth, 9, 11, 65, 79, 200, 888, 851,
407.	441,
Chians, 288.	Corinthians, 7, 9, 11, 355, 857, 417,
Oliios, 871, 875.	447, 461.
Ohios, 871, 875.	Coroneia, a town in Bosotia, 19,
(, , , ,	21.
orator, statesman, and philosopher, 106-48 s.c. Plutarch	Cothocidae, Attic deme, 289.
orator, statesman, and philo-	Cotys, 258; cruel and drunken
sopher. 106-48 B.c. Plutarch	king of Thrace, murdered by
wrote his life.	Python, 358 B.G.
Cimon, 71, 117, 141, 171, 179, 288,	Crannon, 489; city of Thessaly
268; son of Miltiades; Athenian	ated the
general and statesman, died	
	Roman
while besieging Oltium, 449 B.C.	orator, circu 140-91 E.C.
7.	Ciates, a Delphian, 295; a lyric
	post, 831; Cynic philosopher of
TALL STATE OF THE	the 4th century B.C., 387.
ier,	
1001	Crates quoted, 831.
and successor of Zeno in the	Crates quoted, 831. Cratinus, 849: produced comedies
and successor of Zeno in the Stoic school; author of a hymn	Crates quoted, 831. Cratinus, 849: produced comedies circa 450-423 a.c.
and successor of Zeno in the Stoic school; author of a hymn to Zeus, which has been pre-	Crates quoted, 881. Cratinus, 849: produced comedies circa 450-423 a.c. Cratinus, 857: a historian, con-
and successor of Zeno in the Stoic school; author of a hymn to Zeus, which has been pre- served; circa 300-320 B.C.	Crates quoted, 831. Cratinus, 840: produced comedies circa 450-423 a.c. Cratippus, 857: a historian, contemporary of Thucydides.
and successor of Zeno in the Stoic school; author of a hymn to Zeus, which has been pre- served; circa 300-320 s.c. Clearchus. 68: tyrant of Pontus.	Crates quoted, 881. Cratinus, 840: produced comedies circa 450-423 a.c. Cratippus, 857: a historian, contemporary of Thucydides. Cretans, 127.
and successor of Zeno in the Stoic school; author of a hymn to Zous, which has been pre- served; circa 300-320 n.c. Clearchus, 68: tyrant of Pontus, Lilled 300 p.c.	Crates quoted, 881. Cratinus, 840: produced comedies circa 450-423 a.c. Cratippus, 857: a historian, contemporary of Thucydides. Cratans, 127. Cratans, 127.
and successor of Zeno in the Stoic school; author of a hymn to Zous, which has been pre- served; circa 300-320 n.c. Clearchus, 68: tyrant of Pontus, Lilled 300 p.c.	Crates quoted, 881. Cratinus, 840: produced comedies circa 450-423 a.c. Cratippus, 857: a historian, contemporary of Thucydides. Cratans, 127. Cratans, 127.
and successor of Zeno in the Stoic school; author of a hymn to Zous, which has been pre- served; circa 300-320 n.c. Clearchus, 68: tyrant of Pontus, Lilled 300 p.c.	Crates quoted, 881. Cratinus, 840: produced comedies circa 450-423 a.c. Cratippus, 857: a historian, contemporary of Thucydides. Cratans, 127. Cratans, 127.
and successor of Zeno in the Stoic school; author of a hymn to Zous, which has been preserved; circa 200-220 n.c. Clearclus, 68; tyrant of Pontus,	Crates quoted, 881. Cratinus, 840: produced comedies circa 450-423 a.c. Cratippus, 857: a historian, contemporary of Thucydides. Cratans, 127. Cratans, 127.
and successor of Zeno in the Stoic school; author of a hymn to Zeus, which has been pre- served; circa 300-320 n.c. Clearchus, 68; tyrant of Pontus,	Crates quotod, 881. Cratinus, 840: produced comedies circa 450-423 n.c. Cratipus, 857: a historian, contemporary of Theorydides. Cretan, 127. Creta, 425.  11. B.C.
and successor of Zeno in the Stoic school; author of a hymn to Zeus, which has been preserved; circa 200-220 B.C. Clearchus, 68: tyrant of Pontus, 1918-25 p. 2. C. Clettus, 61: killed by Alexander.	Crates quotod, 881. Cratinus, 840: produced comedies circa 450-423 n.c. Cratipus, 857: a historian, con- temporary of Thucydides. Cretan, 127. Crete, 425. 404 B.C. Crtolauis, 225: Peripatetic philo-
and successor of Zeno in the Stoic school; author of a hymn to Zeus, which has been pre- served; circa 300-320 n.c. Clearchus, 68; tyrant of Pontus,	Crates quotod, 881. Cratinus, 840: produced comedies circa 450-423 n.c. Cratipus, 857: a historian, contemporary of Theorydides. Cretan, 127. Creta, 425.  11. B.C.

Geos as head of the school, circa 240-157 B.C. Croesus, 285: king of Lydia in

Asia Minor, 560-546 B.C., famous for his wealth, conquered by Cyrus the Great.

Crow's Rock, 81. Ctesibius, 415: writer on philo-

sophy. Otesicles, Athenian archon, 884-888 B.C., 418. G ..... noposed

100 Italy, и,: storian Khandas,

CVC CONTRACTOR OF CARRY CARRY Villagery & Co. No. 10 Control of the Section 1 . . . . 22 A 879.

Cypriote kings, 857. Cyprus, 359, 379, 388. Oyrenseans, 53.

Cyrus, 279; probably Cyrus the Great, founder of the Persian empire, who was killed in 588

DAMOURITA, daughter of Alcippus, 21, 28.

Danaus, 377: father of the fifty Danaids, with whom he fied from Egypt to Greece.

Dareius, 115, 125, 828; third king of Persia (521-485 n.c.); conquered Thrace; sent army under Datis and Artaphernes, which was defeated at Marathon, 490

H.C. Datis, 828; Persian general, de-31 I - v =

12000 . . a side de la falle e la companya de la companya del companya del companya de la compan 1... dui.

Delian ship, 97. Delians, 445. Delivery, 419.

Delos, 895. Delphi, seat of the famous oracle, 18, 295, 821.

Delphians, 295.

Demades, 188, 221, 223, 263, 273, 409: Attic orator and demagogue opposed to Demosthenes; circa 885-818 B.C.

3

Demeas, father of Demades, 409; father of Demophon, 415.

Demeter, 855. and the same 5.4 V V 12 Santa Section

charge of Athens by the Macedonians (317 s.o.), but forced to flee by Demetrius Poliorcetes, 808-807 B.C.

Demetrius Poliorcetes, 287, 811, 447: king of Macedonia and famous as a general (son of Antigonus). Plutarch wrote his

the track of the a Strength - cappengal title controlled from the

a, .

Demon, 427: cousin of Demoathenes.

Demonicus, 858: secretary of the senate which voted the trial of Antiphon, 411-410 B.C.

Demophon, 415: grandson of Demosthones. Demosthenes, 176; a Lacedae.

monian. Demosthenes, 851 : Athenian gene-

orator and statesman, 554-524 B.C. Plutarch wrote his life. Demosthenes, 413, 449, father of the orator; 449, great grand.

neuhew of the orator. Dexander, 7, 9,

Dexitheus, Athenian archon, 385- 384 B.C., 421.	Doryphorus, statue by Polycleitus,
Diacrians, 197.	271. Dromocleides, 163; a self-seeking
	politician.
Sopher, geographer, and his	Drusus, M. Livius, 171: tribune of the people at Rome, 91 s.c.
In the state of	77
1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1	1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1
в.с., 458.	
	Type the
phon's proposal of a crown for	B.O. 188
	Elders, 111.
1 80 1 1 1 1 3 1 1 2 1 4 N 1 1 1 1	Eleans, 445.
	Eleven, executioners at Athens,
discould be a first to the	858.
Grand Control of the Drag of the Control of the Con	THIS YOU DED DEE
871.	The state of the s
Dion, 33: of Syracuse; friend and	
pupil of Plato, 408-358 B.C.	883.
- 19 - 1 - 1 - 1 - 1 - 1 - 1 - 1 - 1 - 1	Empedus, father of Callistratus,
	418.
Design the state of the re-	i i
pides, 457. Dionysius, of Halicarnassus, 867,	· ,
381: historian and rhetorician,	
	l ' -
If the same of the same	, , ,
about 20 s.c.	Deposit 142 801 808
use, 480-	
B67 B.C. Dionysius II. of Syracuse, 47, 67,	4th century B.C.
79. 277; succeeded his father,	Ephors at Sparta, 18, 15, 21, 58,
Dionysius the Elder, in 867; was	149, 188.
removed in 848 B.C. Dionysus, god of wine, 471.	Ephorus, 185, 875, 888 : author of
Diopeithes, father of Diotimus,	a history of Greece from the return of the Heracleidae to
418.	
Diotimus, an Athenian, 413, 417: associated with Demosthenes.	
Diphilus, 409: brought to trial by	Spicurus, 48 : found of of the alpe-
Lycurgus.	curean school of philosophy,
Diphorus, 383: pun on the name of	842-270 B.C. Epileptics, 69.
Ephorus. Domitian, 157, 247: Roman emperor,	Epimenides, 81, 273; religious
A.D. 81-96.	poet and giver of oracles, circa
Domitius, 223: a witty Roman.	600 B.C.

Property of a contract of the contract of	Evagoras, father of Nicocles,
	Bella House 407 141; nickname
	d Demo-
and the second	
Tiberen stary over norma	F W
	land the same of t
· · · · le in	
Alicello,	
Erechtheus, 411. Eringium, a plant, 88.	missioner of, 451.
Erinyes, 15.	Fortune, 69,
Eteobutadae, 897: a family at	Forum, 137
Athens,	Four Hundred, 347, 849, 853, 859, 868: ruled Athens four months,
Enboss, 445, 449.	411 B.C.
her,	Four years' war, 458 : 204-290 B.C.,
	ending with the surrender of
l : 288;	Frigality, 821.
Eucleides, Alhenian archon, 403-	triginary, san
402 в.с., 865.	GABA, 411.
. of	Gaius Graechus, 168: orator and reformer, 154-121 s.c.
Torsement Ten	Gains Laclius, 151: man of letters,
Eumolpidae, family at Athens,	#-1 -1 -4 U-lula -1 1 10 m
407. Eunomus, encourages Demo-	∑pi-
sthenes, 417.	,p
Euonymus, Attic deme. 418.	Gaul, 201.
Euphanes, 75, 77, 93: an Athenian	Gelo, 861 : tyrant of Syracuse. Geryon, 267 : a three-bodied glant.
of some distinction, to whom Plutarch addressed the essay,	Glaucippus, father of Hypercides,
"Whether an Old Man should	87, 441.
7	: schines,
	889 : . schines,
	Glaucus, of Rhegium, 851; father
	of Timothea, 407.
	C" ' = ' ' ' ' ' ' '
	400 July
	Gorgias, 481: Athenian archon, 280-279 B.C.
	Gorgons, 383.
	Gracchus, Gaius, 163; Roman
	orator and reformer, 154-121 B.C. Plutarch wrote his life.
	Graces, 43.
E	Great Mother, temple of, 405.
1). Euxitheus, 185 : a pupil of Aristotle.	Gylon, grandfather of Demosthenes, 413.
MATTERIORS, 100 . S. DUPIT OF ATTREOMS.	210,

HABRON, 9, friend of Pheidon and	Herodotus, 87, 307: author of history of the Persian wars; circu 484-425 B.C.
of Hedistë.	484-425 B.C.
Haliartus, 5 : a town in Bosotia.	
Hannibal, 85, 281; Carthaginian general, 247–188 B.C.	77 (1 ) (1 ) 77 (177) (1 ) (1 ) (1 ) (1 ) (1 ) (1 )
Hanno, 167: Carthaginian general,	
political (opponent of Hannibal,	Himerasus, 425: accused Demo-
circa 275-200 B.C. Harmodius, 349 (the tyrannicide),	sthenes. Hippades, gate of, 441,
369 (another).	Hippias, orator, father of Plathane,
Harpalus, 209, 289, 428, 425, 489,	379, 385.
447: treasurer of Alexander,	Hippo, daughter of Scedasus, 11.
brought stolen funds to Athens, 824 B.C.	Hippocrates, 375; gave land for stadium.
	TT1: 1
E . V	
ain in	
Boeotia.	41,
Heliodorus, father-in-law of Demo-	Homer, 31, 108, 133, 175, 217, 219,
sthenes, 481; author of work On Monuments, 441.	375: author of the Iliad and the Odusseu.
Hellanicus, 355: historian (logo-	Homer, the Iliad quoted, 68, 67,
1.0775	111, 113, 127, 133, 139, 141, 159, 177, 211, 217, 219, 247, 257, 277,
M - 0 - 17 - 1	327.
Hera, 39.	Howev the Oderson maked of
Heracleidae, noble family at Cor-	88, 47, 179, 193, 269, 887.
inth, 9.	10 mer; the Cogney (ducted, 51, 88, 47, 179, 103, 264, 837.  1. dem.  17, 428,  A henian
Heracleitus, 99: physical philo- sopher of Ephesus, sometimes	2
called "the Obscure," circa 560-	7, 428,
500 B.O. Heracles, 81, 91, 115, 267, 807.	Orator, SSY-SYZ B.C.
Herculis, 251.	•
	IBERIA, 193; the south-western
11	12
Lama	f the
Hermeiss, 215: opponent of Cretinas	Parthenon.
at Magnesia. Hermes, 35, 87, 355, 359, 361; of	Iolas, supposed to have poisoned
the Market, 418,	Alexander, 445.
Hermippus, 411; historian and	860:
biographer, Peripatetic of the 8rd century B.C.	A
Hermon, 283: a Thessalian who	Isasus, 375, 387, 418, 415: Attic
pleaded poverty to avoid public	
office. Herodes, 351: subject of an oration	, 381,
by Antiphon.	, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,
<del>-</del> -	483

Attic orator and philosopher, 486-388 n.G. Isthimian festival, 11. Italiote Greeks, 88. Italy, 95, 368. Ixion, 39; tried to seduce Hera, and was bound by Zons upon a flory wheel.	Leodamas, \$75, 391: Athenian orator, 4th century n.c. Leogoras, father of Andocides, \$65, \$67; Leontini, \$57, 871, 877: a town in Sicily. Leopropes, 87: father of the poot
Jason, Thessalian ruler, 250, probably Jason of Phorae, 4th century B.O., Jugutha, 201; king of Numidia, died in prison in Rome, 204 B.C. Justice, 61, 269.	Leptines, Athenian orator, quoted, 188. Lesbian, 221. Leuconoe, Attic deme, 481, 483, 449, 461, 463.
Kings, at Sparta, 58, 55; of Persians, 57, 249, 438; of Universe, 225.	Leuctra, 11, 18, 17, 95: village in Boeotia, where, in 871 a.c., the Thebans broke the power or Sparta. Leuctrian war, 209.
LACEDAEMON, 18, 111, 148, 178, 849, 858, 859, 21, 28, son of	Liberty, 821. Libya, 201. Lichas, 287: perhaps the Spartan, son of Arcesilalis, who died circa 411 B.c.
Demochares. Laches, 481, 461; brother in law of Demochanes. Laconia, 259, 425	Livius Drusus, M., Roman tribune, 91 n.c., 171. Locrians, 451. Locullus (L. Licinius), 171, 91, 125, 197. Roman general of the let
Laërtes, 108: father of Odysseus. Lagisce, mistress of Isocrates, 885. Lamachus, 267, 288: Athenian general, 5th century B.C.; of Tareina, 419, 421.	Lite Land Daniel Lite Land Daniel Lite Land Daniel Lite Land Lite
Lamia, 427: town on the Malian gulf, where Antipater was be- sieged, 528-522 B.C. Lamian War, 445.	Lycophron, father of the orator Lycurgus, 896, 465; son of Lycurgus, 407, 400, 411, 455, 457. Lycurgus, early Spartan lawgiver.
Lebadeia, a town in Boeotia, 5, 439. Lebadeia restival, 387.	111,143,221,309. Plutarch wrote his life. Lycurgus, grandfather of the orator, 395,411. Lycurgus, Attic orator, circa 390-
Leocharos, sculptor of the 4th century s.c., SSI. Leocrates, 411: name applied to Lycurgus.	284 no., 305, 307, 309, 403, 405, 409, 411, 437, 439, 455, 457. Lyourgus, son of the orator, 407, 411. Lydian maids, 91.

Lydian mode in music, 281.

Lydian power, 237.	
Lysander, married Philippa, 407.	M en
Legander 143, 197, 287; Lace-	200
Lysander, 143, 197, 287: Lace-	· ·
A 2 1 20 1	Wealthy
	reartiny
The second second second second	V
115 aires.	
Lysias, 847, 349, 361, 869, 371, 377	" rinthian
387, 435: Attle orator, circa 450-	
circa 380 B.C.	
Lysias, father of Anaco's son	Menander, king of the Bactrians,
Sosicles, 887.	279.
Lysicles, Athenian general, 409;	Menander, 175, 463, 467, 469, 471:
friend of Demosthenes, 439.	greatest post of the New Comedy,
Lysimachus, 275, 458; archon at	circa 344-292 B.C.
Athens, 436-485 B.C.; challenged	Menander quoted, 175.
Isocrates to exchange property,	Menecleides, 195; an orator who
886.	attacked Epameinondas.
Lysis, 360.	Menecrates, 149: an aged Spartan.
Lysistratus, 387, Athenian archon,	Menemachus, 156, 159, 213: the
869-868 B.C.	young man to whom the essay
Lysonides, 349: father of an	entitled "Precepts of Stateoraft"
Lysonides, 349: lather by an	is addressed.
Antiphon, not of the orator.	
17 400	Menesaechmus, 405, 409, 425:
Macedon, 420.	Athenian of the 4th century n.c.
Macedonia, 441.	Menippus, 231 : a general employed
Macedonians, 425, 429, 481, 441.	by Pericles.
Magnesia, 215, 413, 429,	Messene, 259; city in Messenia,
Mamertines, 249: mercenaries who	founded by Enameinondas.
occupied Messina.	Messenians, 325, 451.
1	Metaneira, [867: slave girl with
	whom Lysias was said to be in
· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	love.
	Metellus (Q. Caccilius Metellus
Mark the state of	Pius), 201: Roman consul with
the Persians were defeated, 490	Sulla, 80 B.C.
B.C.	Mathank Att . thispaten, Astanta !
Marcus, brother of L. Licinius	
Luculius, 125.	No good difference of the
Marius, C., 201: Roman general,	of the bin century B.C.
155-86 s.c. Plutareh wrote his	Miccylus, 331: not mentioned else-
life.	where,
Masinissa, 128: Numidian king,	Miletia, daughter of Scedasus,
238-148 B.G.	11.

Miletus, 239: a city of Asia Minor. Miltiades, 169: commander of the Greeks at Marathon, 490 s.c.

Plutarch wrote his life. Minos, 31: king of Cnossus in

Crete; judge in the lower world. Mnesiphilus, 141: Athenian who aided Themistocles.

Fabius.

Maussolus, of Halicarnassus, 379: died 353 s.c., and his wife Artemisia erected for him a

splendid tomb, the Mausoleum.

Maximus (Q. Fabius), 197: see

Medeius, son of Lysander and Philippa, 407; his son, 407.

Mummius (L.), 251: Roman consul, destroyed Cornith, 140 and destroyed Cornith, 140 and destroyed Cornith, 140 and Indiana (Muspa, 47: hill and fortification in Picfracus. Muse, 37, 99. Musonius (C. Musonius Rufus), 820: Stoic philosopher, teacher of Epidethers; 1st century A.D. Myron, 56: sculptor of the 5th century R.D. Myronius, a tricostitute, 448. Myrchius, a tricostitute, 448. Myrchius, a tide deme, 971. Nams, 217, 250: tyrant (205-192 n.c.)	Olympias, 107: wife of Philip and 348 n.c. Omphalé, 91: Lydian queen whon () () () () () () () () () () () () ()
of Sparta.	0.55 0.50 0.50
Name of the state	1 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4
against whom Demosthenes composed a speech. Neoptolemus, an Athenian, 411; an	Orestes, 223: son of Agamemnon. Orens, village in the territory o Hestiaea, 13, 15, 433. Oromasdes, 57: Greek form o Ahura Mazdab, Persian god.
actor, 417. Nero, 217, 247: Roman emperor	Orsilaüs, 295: son of Phalis,
(A.D. 54-68).	Delphian.
Nesiotes, 179: a sculptor of the	Ortygla, daughter of Archias, 11.
No. No. 1 into Syracusan zuetonesan, 305; a paintay, 68; another, 207. Nicocles, 193, tyrant destroyed by Aratau; 879, king of Cypurus, 383. Nicophanes, father of Aristonicus, 457.  d king. Plut.	Paranta, Attic dome, 418, 437, 449, 449, 449, 449, 449, 449, 449, 44
OARISTES, 31. Odysseus, 337. Oedipus, 81, 223.	Awen

Philocles.

445, 451: founder of the Mace-

donian empire, father of Alex-

... 407.

: : :8, 183,

409,

a poem

A. 18 892

361. 367:

Pegasus, 207,

560-527 B.C.

Peiraeus, 183, 401, 427, 443, 451: the port of Athens.

Peisistratus, 137: tyrant of Athens,

Pelopidas, 17, 211, 267; Theban patriot and general; killed at

Pericles, 29, 88, 85, 109, 115, 141,

Cynoscephalae, 364 n.c. Plut-arch wrote his life.

Peleus, 103: father of Achilles.

Peloponnesian War, 389. Peloponnesians, 7, 451. Peloponnesus, 9, 899. Pelops, 877. Pergamenes, 247.

169, 179, 181, 183, 185, 187, 197, 202, 209, 221, 252, 227, 231, 233, 297, 265, 307, 319, 345, 301; Athenian statesman (7)-230 a.c. Plutarch wrote his life.  Peripatchic, 262; school of philosophy founded by Aristoble.  Peripatchic, 262; school of philosophy founded by Aristoble.  Persian, 149, 278, 279, 309, 328, 325, 431; Persian wars, 521, 347; Persian funds, 437.  Petracus, 247; burned allve by the Presian part of the second state of the	Philotetes, 107: a Greek hero of Philotetes, 107: a Greek hero of League, 222-lo2 n.c. Piutarch League, 222-lo2 n.c. Piutarch Attalus, 212-lo2 n.c. Piutarch Attalus, 212-lo2 n.c. Piutarch Reiner and general, 207: 209: Spartan general who seized Thebes, 282 n.c. a Phoengandran, 297: 209: Spartan general who seized Thebes, 282 n.c. a Phoengandran, 297: 209: Spartan general who seized Thebes, 282 n.c. a Phoengandran, 297: 209: Spartan general who seized Thebes, 282 n.c. a Phoengandran, 297: Phoengandran,
•	487

Phryne, famous courtesan of the 4th century B.C., 443. Phrynichus, 280, 855: Athenian

tragic poet, circa 540-476 n.c. Phyle, 365: mountain fortress occupied by Thrasybulus in 404 n.c.

Pindar, 81, 87, 57, 77, 191, 205: great lyric poet, 518-488 s.c. Pindar quoted, 31, 37, 57, 77, 99,

111, 191, 305. Pisa, 877; place in Elis; Olympia

was in its territory.

Pistius, 407; Athenian against
whom a speech by Deinarchus
was directed.

ten years; circa 651-569 n.c. Plataen, 186, 236; small city in

Boeotia. Plathane, mother of Aphareus, 879,

Plato, 88, 47, 58, 65, 95, 119, 175, 208, 211, 268, 269, 281, 809, 817, 828, 867, 869, 871, 891, 897, 418, 415, 421, 487; great philosopher, circu 427-347 B.C.

circu 427-347 B.C.
Plato, comic poet of the 5th and
4th centuries B.C., 173, 851.

Plutarch, 127; philosopher, biographer, and essay-writer; circa A.D. 50-125.

Polemarchus, brother of Lysias, 361, 365. Polemo, 57; succeeded Xenocrates

as head of the Academic school of philosophy in 814 a.c. Politeia defined, 807.

Political Wisdom, 305.

Polus, 89, 255, 485; a famous actor in the 4th century B.O. Polybius, 119, 123, 241; historian

of the growth of Roman power, friend of the younger Scipio Africanus, circa 210-circa 120 B.C.

Polycleitus, 59; famous sculptor of the 5th century B.C. Polydeuces, 35; mentioned as a

person in private station. Polyeuctus, 187, 399, 417, 425, 429; a sculptor.

488

Pompeium, building in Athens,

Pompey (Cn. Pompeius Magnus), 47, 91, 119, 171, 193, 195, 199, 201, 219, 249; great Roman general; friend, then rival and enemy of Julius Caesar, 106-48 B.O. Plutarch wrote his life.

Pontus, 68: region on the southern

Pols, festival of, 899. Praenestê, city in Italy, 249. Praxiteles, Athenian archon, 444-443 s.c.

President 101.
Probalinthus, Attic deme, 891.
Prodicus, 123, 871: of Coos,

sophist, circa 450 B.C. Propoetus, 37: a mythical character.

Proxenus, 449: a friend of Deinarchus. Prytaneum, 481, 433, 449, 453, 467.

Til inggani zoni zoni zoni zoni zoni

nesus.

Pyrrhus, 137; king of Epeirus; called in by the Tarentines to break the Roman power; was successful at first, but finally defeated, ctra 318-272 n.c. Plutarch wroto his life.

Pythagoras, 33: philosopher and mathematician, 2nd half of the 6th century B.C.

life when young; was one of those who brought Demosthenes to trial, 324 B.C.

Pythian Apollo, 111, 127, 319.	Silenus, of limestone, 361.
Pythian games, 117.	Simmias, 195; Athenian who at-
Pythian prophetess, 321.	tacked Pericles.
Python, 253; Thracian who killed	Simo, 29; a cobbler.
Cotys, 358 B.C.	Simonides, of Ceos, 83, 87, 93, 117,
COLYS, SOO BACA	205, 218 : choral lyric poet, 556-
RHAMNUS, a deme of Attica, 845,	478 B.C.
	Simonides quoted, 117, 161.
853.	
Rhodes, 235, 393.	Social animal, man a, 121.
Rhodians, 247, 898, 445.	Socrates, 29, 145, 287, 845, 359, 367,
Right personified, 61.	883, 421; famous Athenian philo-
Roman women, 819.	sopher, 469-399 B.C.
Romans, 125, 149, 171, 178, 193,	Socrates, perhaps father of Dein-
287, 241.	archus, 447.
Damia 05 111 141 107 971,	
"t of	
320:	Company to the second second by
i con-	287, 823 : great Athenian lawgiver
or or	and poet, 040 (?) - 558 (?) s.c.
Tingfine.	Plutarch wrote his life.
	Sophilus, father of the orator
SACRED ANCHOR, 247.	Antiphon, 845, 858.
Sacred way leading to Eleusis, 875.	Sophocles, 87, 105, 128, 179, 214,
Balaminia, 225: sacred ship at	401: Athenian tragic poet, 497-
Athens.	405 B.C.
Samos, 375, 893,	Sophocles quoted, 87, 123, 179, 219,
Sardis, 287, 297: capital of Lydia.	287.
Satyrus, historian, 429.	dunaum og out mighton would
Seedasus, 11, 18, 15, 17; a man of	1. A. S. Maria S. M. S. Maria
Lanetra.	Long 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1
Catalo 00 100 P Corneling Scinio	on,
Africanus, consul 218 and 205	342-441 B.C.
Military II	Sostratus, perhaps father of Dein-
	archus, 447.
Sc	Sparta, 15, 21, 58, 209, 253, 255,
	809.
	Spartans, 167, 179, 223, 249, 807.
Donlyn adopted by the eldest	Spartiate, 149.
Paulus, adopted by the eldest	Sperchis, 249: a Spartan youth who
1.00	was honoured by Xerxes for his
	patriotism.
	Sphodrias, 207, 209: Spartan who
	invaded Attica in time of peace
	(circa 875 B.C.) and was killed at
A 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10	Lenetra, 871 B.C.
	S test on of Bulleting but
and a marrier for the extensions been	
wards ruter of the greater part	ann of Harrelay
	I see a see a see a see a
	son of Heracles.
	Sthenno, of Messina, 249: kindly
Contract of the contract of th	treated by Pompey.
	t promot pl routiol.

Stoics, 131, 259. Strato, 5, 7: wooer of Aristocleia. Strato, 5, 7: wooer of Aristocleia. Strato, 5, 7: wooer of Aristocleia. Stratocles, 163, 167, 307, 455: Althenian orator who proposed homours for Lyeurgus; was Old 193, 193, victor in war with Mithradates and in civil war, 188-78 R.c. Plutarch wroto his life. Swans, singing, 129. Sybaris, 861: Greek city in Italy, afterwards asmed Thuri. Symmachus, son of Socrates and Chillisto, 467, 187, 187, 188, 189, 189, 189, 189, 189, 189, 189	Theban, Thebans, 17, 19, 63, 103, 167, 197, 223, 417, 419, 431, 443, 451, 451, 451, 451, 451, 451, 451, 451
Syracuse, city in Sicily, 11, 295,	eentury B.C , 255.
361, 371.	Theognides, 359: Athenian archon,
	century B.C.
TARNARUM, 425, 487: Southern	
The visual in the last	
u.	patetic philosopher, circa 372-
Tantalus, 323: punished in the	
ing in water, and hunger while	Theopompus, 53, 55, 253; king of
1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1	Sparta, 8th century s.c.
	born cirra 350 s.c.
371, circ t 460 s.c. Telephus, 11; murderer of Archias.	Theopompus, Athenian archon, 411- 410 s.c., 851.
Telesippus, brother of Isocrates,	Theopompus, comic playwright,
371. Telmarch, 223: minor official at	389. Theramenes, 291; Athenian olig-
Thebes.	arch, one of the "Thirty Ty-
Telmarchy, 225; minor office at Thebes,	rants," 404 n.c.; orator, 371. Therippides, guardian of Demo-
Tenedos, 319; an island off the	sthenes, 415,
coast of Asia Minor, noted for pottery.	Thesmothetae, 257, 358: the six junior archons at Athens.
Thales, 45: mentioned, probably	
*	: . 365,
Translation 2.8 cm	
Theagenes, 227 : an athlete.	Thishe, a town in Boeotia, 10, 21. Thorian, 355.
Theano, daughter of Seedasus, 11.	Thrace, 413.

Thraseas, 217, 219; put to death by Thrasybulus, 359, 365; restored the democracy at Athens, 404-403 B.C.

poli-Lichth.

Thucydides, 81, 149, 179, 188, 347, 418: historian of the Peloponnesian War, circa 465-400 B.C. Thurian, 441.

Thurii, 861 : city in Italy. Tiberius (Claudius Nero), 185: '42 B.C.-A.D. 87, Roman Emperor, A.D. 14-87.

Timarchus, speech against, by Asschines, 898.

Timesias of Olazomenae, 229, Timocles, comic post, 4th century

Timocrates, 415; Athenian archon 864-868 B.C.; 421, archon 824-828 B.C.

Timoleon, 200, 258; Corinthian who freed the Greek cities of Sicily from tyrants and defeated the " ... Plut-

1.04 407. 378, 375, son of of Eos (Dawn), granted eternal life, but

not eternal youth. Triptolemus, 323; instructed by

the goddess Demeter, taught mankind agriculture.

Trophonius, a hero whose oracular shrine was at Lebadeia, 5.

Troy, 103.

Trumpeter, a statue, 271. 12.45

URANIA, 37: a Muse. Utica, 63: city in Africa.

VESTAL VIRGINS, 141.

WOODEN WALL, 821. \*\*\* .\*.\* . .

this name. Xenias, wrongly given as Athenian archon, 445,

46.0

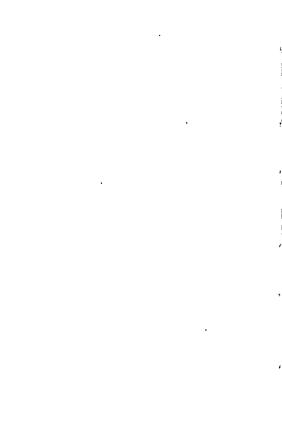
Xenocrates, 408: Academic philosopher (Rector of Academy 839-814 п.с.), 396-314 в.с.

Xenophon, 85, 95, 213, 259, 845, 421; Athenian historian, soldier, historian, and essayist, circa 430-354 B.C.

Xerxes, 125; king of Persia 485-464 B.C.; defeated at Salamis 480 B.C.

Zeno, 381: of Citium, founder of the Stole school of philosophy, circa 836-264 B.C. Zethus, of Amphipolis, 415: writer

of speeches. Zeus, 5, 61, 105, 111, 129, 185, 175, 177, 269, 329, 333, 885, 427.



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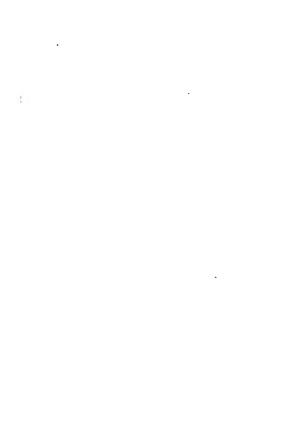
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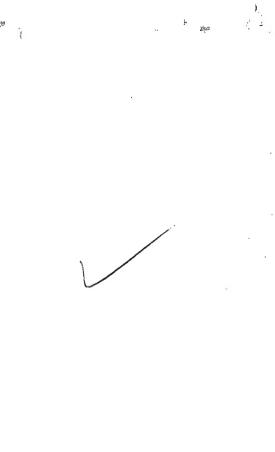
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